The kashmiri pandit

Anand Koul

Kashmir the home of Kashmiri Pandits is linked with history full of the misty past, infinitely remote. They have withstood the march of centuries upon centuries, and still they survive. They are among the few races still existing whose traditions run back to gods and the divine origin of things. Their contribution in the field of literature, philosophy, history and art is worth mention.

It is difficult to understand a people without knowing something of their past and appreciate a country without some knowledge of its physiography. The ethographic survey of the Kashmiri pandits and their history are moving tales full of absorbing interests.

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THE KASHMIRI PANDIT

BY

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PREFACE

सन्तः शंसन्त्यमुत्र त्रिजगति जगतीमण्डलं सारभूतं
तत्रापि क्ष्माधरं तं त्रिभुवनजननी जन्मने यं प्रपेदे ।
तत्राप्याहुः शुभानां विघाठेत विपदां वेश्म कश्मीरदेशं
त्वं यत्रानुग्रहार्थं प्रवहसि भविनां ओं नमः ते वितस्ते ॥
वितस्ता स्तोत्रम् ।

The righteous declare this terrestrial globe as the best of the triad of worlds (as in this, one can practise penances and attain salvation),

Of that too, the mountain (Himalaya), chosen by the Mother of the Three Worlds (Parvati) to take her brith in ;

Of that, too, the country of Kashmir—the abode of blessings, free from all calamities—

Through this country thou, O Vitasta, flowest, benefiting the people (and) I offer unto thee my salutation!

Vitastá Storam.

KASHMIR, with its superb climate and charming scenery, and with its measureless appeal, enjoys a world-wide fame. This happy region seems peculiarly sequestered by Nature for her abode. It is situated amidst an amphi-theatre of mountains shimmering with snow, being surmounted by sharp pyramidal peaks cut like cameos against the luminous sky—mountains cleaving the swooning clouds and "standing up majestically like the thrones of Kings" which, while the sun shines, are glistening with radiance and are turned into gorgeous and enchanting visions of impalpable glittering light. Here, from the clear-cut summits of the mountains, the white incense of

the snow rises up to heaven in luminous spirals and fleeting pillars of loveliness like an offering to the immortal gods, while the breeze kissing them descends to the Valley, breathing vigour and making one's blood course with an ardent vitality. Here the hills around afford one a wonderful view of the Valley as it stretches out in a vast checker-board of fields and farmsteads. Here are interminable woods heavy with an impenetrable shade and resonant with the music of birds. Here the soft velvety meadows, starred with the gracious things called daisies, pansies, kingcups and buttercups, make splashes of gorgeous colour in contrast with the pretty emerald green of the mounts and dales. Here the "broad-bosomed Jhelum takes its rise and wends its stately way" being joined by numerous rivulets, resplendent with the sparkle of their swift descent from snowy heights, swirling and foaming past landscapes covered with lucent verdure, aromatic herbs, luxuriant flowers and green feathery trees laden with purple delicious fruits. Here vast glowing corn-fields, groves of plane-trees and avenues of poplars and willows—alive with nightingales and other singing birds pouring forth their sweet melodious notes—herald plenty and peace. Here are lakes, blue and tranquil like plates of sapphire, or like blue mirrors reflecting hoary cloud-wrapt mountains with all their splendour and glory. Here are singularly fine orchards, ornamented with grottos and bright with the blossom of roses and lilies and a multitude of other scented and lovely flowers in ordered rows or beds, gleaming across the springs and ponds of pure, transparent and cool water and running silvery streams which the skill and taste of man have made to play musically through fountains and to fall sweetly in cascades, imparting a great feeling of rapturous, joyous life and conveying a message, bidding one stay and loiter, or lounge and saunter about, and wonder. Here in pleasantly clear and vivid light every house, wall and balcony, wrapt in balmy soothing air, is a picture fresh from Nature's easel. In short, this Happy Valley is a land of vistas, so lavish in

its prospects and surpassing interest and beauty—a land where wonderful contrasts and amazing variety can be seen—a land of the utmost miracles of bountiful Nature.

Pandit Dámodara, one of the most learned Sanskrit scholars of modern times, says in fine ambiguous terms—

देवा यत्र कृतास्पदा रुचिधरा विश्वेनिलाः कोमलाः
साध्या हस्तगतः समं वसुगणैर्विध्याधरा मानवाः ।
माहाराजिकवंशजाश्च तुपिता आभास्वराः सज्जनाः
सेयं शक्रपुरीमतीत्य न कथं कश्मीरभू राजते ॥

Here—the gods live resplendent, gratifying their desire ; the climate is delightful ;

Here—all the senses are gratified and enjoy peace ; Vishi and Anel Divagans are gentle and loveable ;

Feats of things worth searching after together with the riches are obtainable with little labour ; the inhabitants are learned ;

Gods Sadi and Vasagun are met with easily ; the inhabitants are Vidyahdhar gods ;

The people of the Royal family are happy ; people are nice, shedding lustre ;

Maharajak Devaguns are happy ; the people are good—Abasarah gods.

Such being the country of Kashmir—does it not excel the beauty of the heaven of Indra ?

This marvellous and magnificent country, this "Paradise of the World," this splendid haunt of security and joy which no words can reproduce, in which one may see as much poetic beauty as any man has a right to look for, is the home of the Brahmins, linked with history full of memories of the misty past infinitely remote. They have withstood the march of centuries upon centuries. Still they survive.

May the Almighty preserve this small community under the shelter of His powerful wing. secure against all the changes and chances of the passing years, and may their golden years return ! They are among the few races still remaining on earth whose traditions run back to the gods and the divine origin of things. One can no more understand a people without knowing something of their past than one can appreciate a country without some knowledge of its physiography. The ethnographic survey of the Kashmiri Brahmins and their history are moving tales full of absorbing interest. I have made an attempt to describe them in this booklet, which, it is hoped, will form a fascicle of the History of Kashmir.

I will only add that I am fully aware of the literary and other shortcomings of this booklet.

SRINAGAR-KASHMIR : ANAND KOUL
1st January, 1924

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PANDIT ANAND KOUL

A Life-sketch

Among the Kashmiris who pioneered the movement for the resurgence of their compatriots at the turn of the century, there is perhaps none more notable than Pandit Anand Koul.

Born in Srinagar on April 3, 1867, Pandit Anand Koul, the only son of Pandit Tota Koul (a *Kardar* in the Revenue Department of the State), passed his childhood and youth in easy circumstances.

He was at the age of six put to a *Tsathal* (*Tsat*-boy; *hal*: place) or a school run by a hereditary teacher who held the class in one of the dark, dingy rooms of his house. He taught Sanskrit and Persian from elementary books. Such schools were but poor remnants of the ancient schools of learning for which Kashmir was famous.

At the age of fourteen he completed the course in the *Tsatahal* and could have entered State service but he was keen to learn English which would open to him the window on the world. Fortunately for him a missionary opened an English-medium school in Srinagar. Pandit Anand Koul was his first pupil and hence the first Kashmiri to learn English. But it was not smooth sailing for him. He had to face strong opposition from his relatives and friends and even from the Maharaja. They apprehended that the missionary would convert him to Christianity and he had somehow to be rescued. The boy, however, stood adamant and continued his studies, so keen was he to get higher education. He made rapid progress and in two years learnt besides English; Mathematics, History, Geography and other subjects.

Another missionary, Rev. Knowles succeeded Rev. Doxey, the founder of the school which was now gaining in popularity. It was Rev. Knowles who introduced him to research in history and folk-lore of Kashmir. Pandit Anand Koul was appointed by him the first headmaster of the school which had now more than two hundred boys on roll. Besides, he helped Rev. Knowles in writing his "Proverbs of Kashmir" and "Folktales of Kashmir". Thus the Pandit became a learned research scholar in his own right.

As Administrator

Being well versed in the English language, he was appointed as Sheriff of his office by Raja Amar Singh, the President of the Council of Regency set up on the deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh. Pandit Anand Koul's services were later transferred to the newly constituted office of the Census Commissioner. Meanwhile the Goverenment of India deputed Sir C.G. Todhunter to reorganise the Customs Department of the State and Pandit Anand Koul was appointed his assistant.

When the reorganisation report was approved by the State, Sir Todhunter gave him independent charge of the Customs Department in Jammu Province. Here he worked hard for seven years and put the Department on sound footing.

On his transfer to Kashmir, Dr. A. Mitra, the Home Minister who recognised his efficiency and honesty, appointed him as the whole-time President of the Srinagar Municipality.

One of the oldest cities in India, Srinagar had an unenviable reputation of being the filthiest city in Asia. It was squalid and dismal, its streets if any, rude and soiled with offal. No wonder disease and epidemics killed thousands of people every year.

So it was a Herculean task to improve its sanitary conditions. But Pandit Anand Koul worked day and night to make the city cleaner, its streets wider and the houses better ventilated. Apart from this he had to educate the people to keep their houses and courtyards clean A Health Officer, a Sanitary Engineer and supporting staff were appointed. The Pandit's presence was an inspiration to them all to put in hard, efficient and honest effort for this humanitarian cause.

After some years of untiring effort, he had the satisfaction of seeing the city assume a new look. A foreign doctor who was working in Kashmir for years wrote to him in 1917 : "I who go about all parts of the city see the wonderful sanitary improvements."

And finally came the day when having attained the age of superannuation he retired from Municipal service. His salary at the time of retirement was the highest drawn at that time by any Kashmiri. This speaks volumes for his efficiency, honesty and hard work.

Writer and Historian

Earlier in his life he had the distinction or working, besides his official duties in the State, as the special correspondent of the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore and *Ploneer* of Allahabad, two important Anglo-Indian papers of the time. The job was offered by the editors in recognition of his mastery of the English language and accurate and honest reporting. It continued till his transfer to Jammu. Thus he became the first Kashmiri journalist.

Pandit Anand Koul's research work with Rev. Knowles has already been mentioned. Later he worked on an important subject in Kashmir History—the fifty lost kings about whom Kalhana says he could find no facts from eralier histories. Basing his monograph on Hasan's information from *Ratnakarpurana* and examining it critically, he submitted a monograph to the Asiatic Society of Bengal who accepted and published it in their Journal. A subsequent monograph on Kapalamocan *tirtha* at Shopyan in Kashmir was also accepted by the Society and published in its Jounrnal.

Meanwhile he was working on a book "Geography of Jammu and Kashmir" which was published in 1913. True there were some guide books written by European travellers but they gave wrong place-names and distorted versions of facts. Pandit Anand Koul's "Geography" was the first book written in English by a son of the soil and hence more authentic.

An allied field of study—the Shawl, Papier-mache, and Carpet industries—led him to write learned monographs on them which were published in then prestigious journal *East and West*.

The Life and Sayings of Lalla the Saiva Yogini of Kashmir who flourished in the 14th century, became the subject of his intense study. He published her "Life" in the *Indian Antiquary*, edited by Sir Richard Temple. Later her "Sayings" were serially published in the same journal. A few years later he brought out her life and sayings in book form. Raja Narandra Nath wrote a Foreword to it.

The study of Lalla, he thought, would not be complete without that of her contemporary, Nund Rishi *alias* Sheikh Nur-ud-din, the patron saint of Kashmir. He made a deep study of rare and authentic manuscripts of *Nur-Nama* and other texts and brought out his "Life" and "Sayings" in a series of articles in the *Indian Antiquary*. This was the first introduction of the saint to the English reading public.

His important book on "Kashmiri Pandits" was published in 1924. This was acclaimed by scholars and critics as the first anthropological study of an Indian community.

Another publication of his—"Archaeological Remains in Kashmir"—deals with the numerous monuments in the Valley. He visited them one by one to make an on-the spot study. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote a Foreword to it.

He did not miss to write on his mother tongue—Kashmiri. He collected and translated into English a number of Proverbs and Riddles which were published in the *Indian Antiquary*. Similarly he wrote the "Life of Rupa Bhawani", the "Life of Rishi Pir", and "Life of Manasvi Rajanaka", the famous saints of Kashmir and highlighted their influence on contemporary society.

He had the privilege and honour of hosting a dinner to Swami Vivekananda. When Dr. Tagore visited Kashmir he gave a reception to him at his residence, where Kashmiri litterateurs had an opportunity to meet the Poet. Similarly a few years later he linvited all the graduates and learned men of Kashmir to a reception at his residence in honour of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

He had a large number of friends and admirers who found a warm welcome at his drawing room and took part in literary discussions and recitation of new compositions from writers, both Hindu and Muslim.

He passed away peacefully on July 11, 1941.

THE
KASHMIRI PANDIT

EARLY HISTORY

THE Valley of Kashmir was the home "in simplicity sublime" of *Rishis* or sages, hermits and ascetics, who cared little for wordly power or enjoyment and who, glorying in divine love, chose to live on one side or the other of the line that marks the minimum of subsistence. They formed a race, which, secluded from the world in this Valley, stood aloft by virtue of the purity and the grandeur of their heritage. In the secluded depths of the forests, men pondered deeply upon the nature of things, and discussion of the problem of the universe was a favourite pastime. The simple and blameless lives led by these hermit-philosophers, their contempt for wealth and honours, their disinterestedness and, above all, their extreme sobriety, attracted the attention of the princes and the people. The greatest kings were not above rendering homage to them and treating them with more respect than they would have dared to demand for themselves from their own subjects.

The Valley was, in the beginning, a vast mountain-lake called Satisar. Those who want to study the geology of the Valley thoroughly or to inquire superficially into the fascinating geological story of how this unparalleled region came to be, can see here, in miniature, all the lateral and

terminal moraines and other sign-posts which reveal to scientists what happened thousands of years ago. Traces have been discovered of beaches on the sides of the surrounding hills and also fresh water fishes, fossil oysters and black shells of water chest-nuts have been found embeded in layers in the earth at the height of 1,500 ft. above the level of the Valley, proving its fluvial origin. There is a tradition that its drainer was an ascetic, named Kashyapa, hence the reclaimed land was called Kashyapmar (Kashyapa's abode) and latterly Kashmir. The prehistoric period, as mentioned in both the Nilamat-purána and the Rájatarangini, shows that, after the Valley was drained out, Brahmins were brought here by Kashyapa. They were penitents and philosophers, living apart from the world and its temptations and entirely engrossed in the pursuit of knowledge, leading the lives of introspection and practising the lives of purity. They sojourned here for summer, performing austere penances in the cool climate of the Valley and returned to wherefrom they came on the approach of winter. In those times there lived three tribes called Nágas, Pisháchas and Yakshas, who used to go in summer towards Tibet and return here in winter. They were evidently the aborigines. The Brahmins used to depart before their return out of their fear. In course of time the Brahmins began to reside here permanently, giving presents of food, etc., to those aborigines on specific festivals at the suggestion of Nila Nág, the author of the Nilamatpurána who was the head of the Nágas. The festival *Khichimávas* is still observed on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Poh when *khichri* is cooked in each Brahmin's house and kept outside in a new earthen pot for the Yakshas. Tradition has it that the Yaksha was of a short stature but was very powerful and that he wore a cap which, if snatched away from him and placed underneath a mill-stone or underneath a vessel containing *Sudar Kánz* (rice water turned sour by keeping and used as vinegar), he could not remove himself,

though he could carry heavy loads. He prized it so much that he would serve in that house unpaid like a slave until he could coax a child to extract it from either of the above two things and then he would snatch it away from his or her hand and run away.

In both the Rájatarangini and the Nilamatpurána we find the names of several sects, namely, Mlechhas, Nishádas, Khashas, Dards, Bhauttas, Bikhshas, Ekangas, Dámaras, Tântris and Nyáyaks who constantly gave trouble not only to the rulers of the country but also to the Brahmins. They persued agriculture, military service and other professions. The sub-castes of Tántri, Nyáyak and Dàr (abbreviation of Dámara) survive among the agricultural population even to this day.

The immigration from other countries was ever going on, chiefly for the following reasons :

(1) Kashmir was, from the earliest period, a seat of learning as we find from the writings of the famous Chinese travellers, Hieun Tsiang and Ou-Kong, who visited Kashmir and engaged themselves in studying Sanskrit here in 631 and 759 A.D. respectively. No scholar could be considered well accomplished unless and until he had associated himself with the illustrious learned men in Kashmir for several years and taken lessons from them. Hieun Tsiang writes—"The people of Kashmir love learning and are well cultured. Since centuries learning has been held in great respect in Kashmir." Alberuni, who accompanied Mahmúd Ghaznavi to the Punjab in 1021 A.D., writes—"Kashmir is the high school of Hindu sciences." People came from far and near countries in search of Sanskrit learning here and many amongst them, charmed by the congenial climate and natural beauties of the Happy Valley, settled here.

(2) Kashmir, behind its mountain ramparts, cut off from its neighbours—inaccessible, local, a natural republic—enjoyed immunity from foreign aggression and, therefore, people from other countries swarmed here. Alberuni says—"The victory of the Punjab by Mahmúd Ghaznavi made people fly away in places where our hands cannot yet reach—to Kashmir, Benares and other places."

(3) The political relations of Kashmir with China in ancient times and latterly with Central Asia had the natural effect of the influx of people from these countries.

(4) Being a fertile country, there was plenty always in Kashmir and people were attracted here from far and near countries where food stuffs were comparatively dearer. This is evident from the following two Sanskrit sayings :

(1) *Kashmíran yasyámah tatra odanam bakshyámah*

Would, that we might go to Kashmir where we could get food in sufficiency for eating.

(2) *Yatra dvidhá Kashaype sulabham*

Here (in Kashmir) the ambiguous (word) Kashyapa (food and clothing) are easy to obtain.

RELIGION

FROM the preceding Chapter it will appear that, from ancient times, the Kashmiri Brahmins were quite a distinct race from the aboriginal tribes and immigrants. They ever retained a separate life. They were generally followers of Shaiva philosophy. This religious system was, in ancient times, the object of much study amongst the learned men of Kashmir. Their teachings influenced the whole Indian peninsula—so much so that we read that even Rámánuja, the leader of a rival Vaishnava belief, felt compelled to travel from distant Madras to Kashmir with the special object of combating the hostile creed at its fountain-head. There is an imposing mass of Kashmir Shaiva literature still extant. Vishṇu and other deities were also worshipped. Some people followed the Tántric or Sháktic doctrine. Each family was devoted to the worship of one or another of the four goddesses, namely, Shárika, Rájnh, Jválá and Bálá. They followed, as they follow now, the *Sanátana* or eternal *dharma* and observed, as they do now, the *Varna áshrama* or caste system. They consider the caste system the most reasonable form of society possible, it having done much for the division of labour, for the preservation of skill and learning and for the physique and the purity of the higher castes. For those, who find fault with the caste system, it may be interesting to quote here the Abbé J.A. Duboés, who says in his book "*Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*" as follows :

"As to the caste system, Moses, as is well known, established it amongst the Hebrews in accordance with the Commands of God."

That individual souls are in different stages of development, besides possessing special capacities or tendencies as well as special deserts according to the nature of past action, is reflected in the theory of caste with its appropriate morality. "Caste" says Sister Nivedita, "is race continuity; it is the historic sense ; it is the dignity of tradition and of purpose for the future. It is even more ; it is the familiarity of a whole people in all its grades with the one supreme human motive—the notion of *noblesse oblige*."

Mr. Shridhar V. Katkar writes in his "*History of Caste in India*" :

"The more highly organized a system, the harder it is to change, and the caste system is no exception to this rule. We find revolts against this system from the very earliest period up to-day and most of them succeeded only in multiplying the evils. Principles, antagonistic to the system, were forced into society by the swords of the Muhammadans, by the bayonets of the Portuguese, and by the organized missions of Europeans and Americans of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but they all failed to make any impression.

"However peculiar this institution of caste may be, it is based on tendencies of mind which are found among all peoples on the globe.

"According to the German Civil Law the marriage of a man belonging to the high nobility with a woman of inferior birth is still regarded as disparaging and the woman is not entitled to the rank of her husband, nor is the full right of inheritance possessed by her or her children.

"Rank, social position, economic condition have no direct effect on the gradation from the standpoint of caste.

They are simply aids to establish the status. Caste in India is strong and rigid because the ideas of the people regarding purity and pollution are rigid."

Professor Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, says :

"In biology the species are classified with reference to the relative permanence of different characteristics ; the same principle may be applied in ethnology ; mankind also should be classified with reference to the degree of permanence of various physical characteristics."

Mr. John Mackenzie, M.A., says in his book "*Hindu Ethics*"—

"India has made a positive contribution to the Ethical world by its system of Dharma, by the system of passive virtues and idea of *karma* which has given an immense significance to all human activity . . . . . Along with this the doctrine of *karma* and transmigration of Soul has also been of orthodox authority and has been through the veins of actual moral considerations."

Mr. J.N. Farquhar, M.A., writes in his book "*The Crown of Hinduism*" (pages 165, 168 and 169) :

"Each member of a caste is bound to preserve his purity to the utmost. Pollution is dangerous not only to himself but to all the members of his family, dead, living and unborn, and in less degree to other members of his caste. Purity is preserved by the faithful performance of the domestic sacraments, the *shraddha* ceremonies, and Vedic sacrifices, and the daily devotions prescribed, and by the avoidance of any breach of caste rules in the matter of marriage, food, social intercourse or occupation. Only if a man faithfully obeys all these rules does he make good *karma* for himself and so secure a good birth in his next life.

"Caste retains to this day a powerful hold on the Hindu mind. To the average man, whether Brahmin, Shudra or

Out-caste, caste life is not only society and respectability, race purity and religion, but comfort, personal safety and culture. In caste a man believes he has behind him a pure ancestry to which the lineage of the kings of England is but of yesterday. Even the Pariah, who to the Shudra (not to speak of the Brahmin) is so low and unclean as to be untouchable, is, in his own eyes, a man of high birth and good ancestry, because there are so many groups lower still. To go out of caste is to degrade oneself to the level of coarse, ill-bred men. It is to go out of civilization."

The Kashmiri Brahmin believes in (1) the law of the phenominal world, namely, *karma*, explaining it that each person receives the exactly measured recompense of his good and bad deeds done by him during his past life, in happiness and misery in this life, (2) the future state in heaven (*Swarga*) where the good will enjoy the fruit of their good *karma* and hell (*Naraka*) where the bad will be punished for their bad *karma*, (3) the immortality and transmigration of the soul which is explained in appalling differences in human life, and (4) a higher power, called by various names such as Bhagawán, Ráma, Krishna, Shiva, which rewards the good and punishes the bad, which abides in heaven or in one's own heart. Their ideal was, as it is now, to achieve emancipation (*moksha*) from ever-recurring round of birth and rebirth which is a source of infinite misery : a final escape from all that is transitory, unsatisfying, and sorrowful,—in short, to link themselves with immortality and to pierce the sable curtain of Death. They are idol worshippers, believing that image is meant to be a faithful representation of the Supreme Being and the channel of the purest spirituality. If He were to appear Himself, He would be like the image. Thus the making of images is a response to the eager human desire to know God's nature and character. The idol meets this need in the happiest way : there it stands, permanently showing what the Revered Being is like. You can gaze on the great features, read the character and cary away a

picture in your heart. Under this spell of *bhakti* (loving faith of the devotee of a personal god), many men, who ordinarily are far enough removed from reverence, feel they can adore and pray. God is now no more a thought or imagination to them but a definite Person whose character they are in touch with. Religion becomes at once a reality, a practical sort of intercourse which they can understand.

In the time of Ashoka (the middle of the 3rd Century B.C.) Buddhism spread in Kashmir, but the Brahmins contrived to retain a separate life and remained unaffected, observing rigid fidelity to their ancient usages and the holy tenets of yore. Even Ashoka was, in order to win the goodwill of the Brahmins, a fervent worshipper at the ancient Shiva shrines (*see* Rájatarangini I, 102—107). Buddhism disappeared from Kashmir by 638 A.D.—it came and prevailed for nine centuries and amalgamated other aboriginal tribes, but caused no change to the *Sanátana Dharma*. The *Sanátanist* would seem to echo the lines of Tennyson—

For men may come and men may go
But I go on for ever.

Sir Aurel Stein speaks of the Kashmiris having been long ago called *gens religiosissima* and says that, to this day, they are far more superstitious than are most Indian peoples. Even now, after braving the storm of centuries, the usages, laws and institutions of the Kashmiri Brahmins are the same as they were ages ago. They guard with jealousy the pure traditions of Hinduism and take every care to preserve the integrity of their religion. Their motto is in the fine lines of the poet—

"First realize and well revise
The good that sages meant thee ;
Despise then, if thou can'st despise,
The food that sages sent thee."

Kashmir produced an unending procession of men and women who, inspired by their mighty religion, and faithful to their ancient ideals, entered the life of the recluse and solved the riddle of existence, devoting themselves body and soul to attain the eternal philosophical truth and then to preach and teach that truth to the humanity. Appendix I gives the list of ancient and modern ascetics of Kashmir.

Sir Francis Younghusband has written in his book on Kashmir—

"In spite of the splendid Moghals, brute Pathans, bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras, the Kashmiris ever remained the same."

The same Hindus, who did not dare to complain when they saw their wives, their children, and everything they held most dear carried off by their fierce conquerors, their country devastated by fire and sword, their temples destroyed, their idols demolished ; these same Hindus, I say, only displayed some sparks of energy when it became a question of changing their customs for those of their oppressors. Ten centuries of Muhammadan rule, during which time the conquerors tried alternately cajolery and violence in order to establish their own faith and their own customs amongst the conquered, did not suffice to shake the steadfast constancy of the Brahmins. Bribes of dignities and honours, and the fear of annoyance and loss of position, had no effect on them. Indeed, the dominant race had to yield and had even been forced to adopt some of the religious and civil practices of the conquered people.

It will be interesting to quote here some passages from an ably written brochure "*The Social Survey of the Kashmiri Pandits*" by Pandits I.K. Wali and M.K. Wali :

"An advocate of the Old School is confident of the majestic sanctity and the hoary antiquity of his religion and

this sufficiently justifies his adherence to it. It would be interesting here to note certain facts connected with this school, on the basis of which facts depends all their holiness and title to spiritual purity. To elucidate the point let a typical case be taken.

"A true follower of the Orthodox School would get up early in the morning, even before the crows have left their nests. He would devote the next hour to the purification of his person and after he has had his *ashnán* (which he would hardly miss) to relieve his body of bad magnetism, he would sit down for his *puja* at a time when not only is his mind calm and tranquil within but all Nature without is steeped in utter silence and solemnity. Then he gets up from his *Asan* and is ready to receive the morning obeisance from his children bestowing upon them blessings in return. The dress he wears is a model of decent simplicity and secures to him the greatest freedom of movement at the least expense. He would abstain from clothes made up of stuffs *chemically* and *magnetically* impure. After that he would take to his wordly functions and discharge them with a sense of reliance on the All-guiding Deity. The consciousness of the presence of the Holy One would never quit his mind and he would utter *Rám Rám* several times during the day. As regards his food, it is simple and easily digestible and the manner of eating is natural and concentrated. He would keep fasts regularly in order to keep his body and soul in a state of health and purity. The wife feels it her sacred duty to love and honour her husband and, according to the Shastras, her religion. in a nutshell, is devotion to him. She would take up some of her time, spared from occupation in domestic affairs, with the perusal of religious books like the *Rámáyana* and the *Bhágavata*. Peace and sweet harmony seem to reign over the family circle. The children are taught to follow in the wake of their parents and brought up in conformity with the established principles of religion and morality. In the discharge of all religious and social functions the will of old

men and women in the family is considered paramount and no one dares gainsay it. All ceremonies are conducted, with all the exactness of detail, in accordance with Vedic rites under the direction and guidance of the Guru.

"Whenever opportunity offers and financial means allow, pilgrimage to holy places like Hardwar, Prayag, Kashi, and Jagannath, is considered as a means of absolution from sin and increased religious credit. At such places a new field is opened out for the inculcation of pious and religious ideas. The bestowal of alms is regarded as another means of future felicity and it would be considered as gross irreligiousness if a *faqir* turns back empty-handed from the threshold. The giver must get the benefit of his or her virtuous intention if no other good accrues from profuse charity. The notions of physical purity are strict and cast, on that account, a pious influence on the soul. The holy water of the Ganges is believed to be an antidote against all kinds of pollutions.

"These are briefly some of the facts which ennoble the Old School. The fidelity, with which its advocates stick to it, shows a high degree of belief in religion which alone can win for a person a meritorious reward both in this world and the next. In short, theirs is the domain of spirituality and they revel in it as contentedly as one would do in one's own element.

"Let us now examine the views of Conservative Kashmiris as they think and talk about the denationalisation of their community and the strange metamorphosis of the rising generation. They are cut to the quick to notice that their brethren, who once respected the good old traditions, are now assuming new airs and turning apostates. Would it not gall, they say, a true patriot, who loves his ancestors and respects ancient usage, to find the fresh saplings of their community, who stand still in need of watering, heaving high their haughty head in an air of supreme independence and

indifference ? When those inexperienced young men, the roots of whose knowledge are but loosely held, try to overrule the bid of their venerable fathers, it comes as a sore blight to the worthy parents when they find their *barkhurdárs* trying the illusive path of the new civilisation and manifestly behaving in it as if it was something quite homely and indigenous. What to say of these young men, even the so-called pick of society, born with silver spoons in their mouths, who have assumed, more or less, an attitude of indifference to national affairs. Would to God, they should realize their responsibility as vital organs of the national constitution and earn the gratitude of the community by taking voluntarily a keen interest in adjusting matters of social importance.

"A father asked his son, who had just returned from England, to wash and come to the *chauki* to have his food—and can you imagine what his reply was ? 'No, thank you, father,' he said, 'I can as easily sit at the dining table.' The father was, no doubt, stunned with the reply, but this was not the only reply ; another came to him later. 'Come here, my son, put on your *dhoti* and go to bed,' said the fond parent. 'Excuse me, my father, I have got my nightsuit with me,' was the reply.

"Once the same father was taking a walk along the bazaar when a clean-shaven Kashmiri youth, whom he knew to be a fast friend of his son, and as one who was distinguished in his educational career by having been thrice plucked in the Matriculation Examination, cut him on the way. His accomplishments seemed to bear a marvellous contrast with his outward show of vanity, and this fact made a deep impression on the old man. Next, as the old man moved on, he was amusingly surprised to read a sign-board which struck him as making a proud display of a Kashmiri name—nay caste only preceded by its initial letters and that too so cruelly murdered by a distortion of spelling that a

person who has a head on his shoulders would wonder who Mr. B.C. Cole was, an Englishman in name or in reality. Further, as he approached the Circular Road, he espied a pair of young girls, possessed of Kashmiri features, pass on bicycles talking to each other in a manner that made it difficult for him to believe his eyes.

"The venerable gentleman reached home at sunset and went in with a significant look. Putting off his shoes, he squatted down on the wooden platform where the other members of his family were sitting and talking to one another. He began to review the spectacle he had witnessed and at once an excited conversation ensued. The housewife, touched with what she heard, began to talk of the good old times and even went so far back as the days of Sri Rám Chandra. She vehemently argued how in ancient times a brother loved brother, how a son respected his father and felt it his pious duty to follow in his footsteps; how young girls, embellished with the ornament of modesty, cultivated a sense of propriety and obedience and how men lived a free simple life, with fewer chances to excite their evil tendencies. 'Our boys discuss heterodoxy in our very teeth,' rejoined the husband, 'and sacrifice noble sentiments to crude innovations.' They openly denounce their ancestors as ignorant and narrow-minded and boast of an ideal to form the Brotherhood of Man on Earth. They know not the end of life and the ultimate good of man. Alas! such things *cannot* but go on and on. The holy scriptures have predicted that the *Kaliyuga* shall be the age of re-action when religion shall be renounced, luxuries shall grow, sins increase and things change. Oh! where to see the early freshness of the dawn. Alas! our purest nationality is waning with time and signs of early greatness are fast disappearing. Our best principles of life are now at the mercy of a heterogeneous accumulation of knowledge. New theories, new lines of action, are operating on our raw youths. Alack! we are undone. Is there no

servant of God and Mankind who would deliver us from imminent peril ?"

Sister Nivedita says in "*The Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*" (page 2) :

"A single generation enamoured of foreign ways is almost enough in history to risk the whole continuity of civilization and learning. Ages of accumulation are entrusted to the frail bark of each passing epoch by the hand of the past, desiring to make over its treasuries to the use of the future. It takes a certain stubbornness, a doggedness of loyalty, even a modicum of unreasonable conservatism may be, to lose nothing in the long march of ages ; and, even when confronted with great empires, with a sudden extension of the idea of culture, or with the supreme temptation of a new religion, to hold fast what we have, adding to it only as much as we can healthfully and manfully carry."

Principal T.L. Waswani, in his address to the Karachi students, spoke about "the rich and varied contents of Hindu culture" as follows :

"It was a fashion sometime ago to damn Hindu Literature with faint praise and call it the product of fancy ; Ueberweg thought the Hindu revelled in mere imagination and could not produce philosophy ; and Hegel wrote his philosophy of History with the idea that the evolution of the World's thought was exhausted on the shores of the Mediterranean. A careful study will show that Hindu culture is significant and varied. We have books on Mathematics ; read them and you will know that the Hindus invented the decimal system, and were well-versed in Geometry, Algebra and Trigonometry. We have books on Astronomy ; and these show that the ancient Hindu discerned the diurnal motion of the earth ; we read of the

great knowledge of Bháskara, of the observatory of Raja Jaya Singh ; there are books again showing how great was the progress made by the Hindu in experimental Chemistry ; there are books which record the Hindu Knowledge of Physics, Optics and Acoustics ; the ancient Hindus were familiar with Medical Science, with anatomy and the methods of observation and experiment ; Charaka, the head physician of King Kanishka, was a medical expert ; Panini's book is a monument to genious and is one of the world's few great books on Grammar and Etymology ; and then we have books on Lexicography, Prosody, Rhetoric, Painting, Music, Sculpture and Architecture ; Hindu *Nyaya* presents a new synthesis of Logic not inferior to Aristotle's ; Hindu Psychology is a contribution to the study of the sub-conscious ; Hindu Metaphysics influenced Neo Platonism and German Idealism ; we have books too on history, the idea being recognised that history must be a record and interpretation of civilisation ; the *Puranas* give splendid materials for history ; we have a beautiful history of Harsshavardhan, the emperor of North India ; *Rajatarangini* is a good chronicle of Kashmir ; the *Brahmkhanda* is one of the old gazetteers of India and is full of geographical information. We have books too on Economics (*Arthasastras*) and beautiful suggestions are thrown out concerning moralism which avoids the extremes of aggressive capitalism and hunger-born socialism ; we have books on politics, basing Hindu goverment not on national egotism and superiority but Trust in human nature interpreted as rooted in the Eternal Self. Hindu Ethics is inspired by the lofty idea of *Nishkáma*, the service of the whole without the personal gain or the motive of applause ; Hindu Sociology with its emphasis on the doctrine of the deed (*Karma*) its recognition that human personality is a relationship, and its message of social solidarity sets forth a socio-religious type of civilisation which the world will do well to study. Again, study Hindu Epics, such as the *Mahábhárata* and the *Rámáyana*, the *Kumára Sambhava*,

Raghuvansa, Meghaduta, Amarusataka ; Hindu didactic poetry, such as *Santisataka Mohamudgara, Pancha-tantra, Hitopadesha* ; Hindu drama, such as *Sakuntala, Mrichakatika* of *Sudraka, Malavikagnimitra, Uttara-Rámacharitra,* and you find that the Hindu writers had a profound perception of the truth that the secret of life was self-renunciation. Study again Hindu theology reflected in books such as the Vedas, the *Brahmanas*, the *Aranyakas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Sutras*, the *Bhagavad Gita* with the Commentaries of the great *Acharyas,* and you find how piteous is the world's need to-day of the Doctrine of the self-concerning which these books speak of again and again."

SECTS

AS regards the origin of the Kashmiri Brahmins, it is certain that it was a colony of Aryan immigrants from Central Asia (*see* Rájatarangini I, 34). Their features and fair complexion bespeak them of the inner Aryan race. Thompson writes in his "*History of India*" :

"The Aryans were a long headed race of tall stature with narrow noses and fair complexion. Their purest representatives are found to-day mainly in Kashmir."

Sir Monier Monier-Williams says in his book "*Modern India and the Indians*" (page 151) :

"The Kashmiri Pandits are among the finest types of the Aryan race."

Mr. George Campbell in his book "*Ethnology of India*" says :

"The Kashmiri Brahmins are quite High-Aryan in the type of their features—very fair and handsome, with high chiselled features, and no trace of intermixture of the blood of any lower race. It may be partly race, and partly occupation, but they have certainly a greater refinement and regularity of feature than the Afghans and others of a rougher type, with, however, a less-manly looking physique and a colour less ruddy and more inclining to a somewhat sallow fairness. The high nose, slightly aquiline, but by no means what we call Jewish or nut-cracker, is a common type. Raise

a little the brow of a Greek Statue, and give the nose a small turn at the bony point in front of the bridge, so as to break the straightness of line, you have then the model type of this part of India, to be found both in the living men and in the statues dug up in the Peshâwar valley. There are also a good many straight noses, and some varieties, as in all places, but much less departure from an ordinary handsome standard than in most countries. The figure of the ordinary working Kashmiri is strong and athletic. But none of them are martial ; and the Brahmins are, in this respect, no exception. They rule by the brain and the pen, and not by the sword. It is this character that has gained them the favour of so many rulers of a different faith. Kashmir long belonged to the Kabul Kingdom ; but it was never in any degree colonised by Afghans, and is singularly free from any modern intermixture of foreign races. The fact seems to be, that the Valley never belonged to the Afghan nation, but was always retained as a Crown appanage of the kings, who were very jealous of admitting into it subjects whom they might find it difficult to turn out again, and much preferred to govern through the Pandits. Others have, to a great extent, followed the same policy. The Kashmiri Pandits are known all over Northern India as a very clever and energetic race of office-seekers. As a body they excel in acuteness the same number of any other race with whom they come in contact."

The Kashmiri Brahmins are divided into 199 exogamous sections (*gotras*) the members of which profess to be descended from the *Rishi* or inspired Saint whose name the *gotra* bears. Among these sub-divisions social precedence is governed by the spiritual greatness or the inferiority of the respective *Rishis*, Koul being considered the highest of all the sub-divisions. But, generally, social position is determined by the nature of occupation followed rather than by the *gotra* and those who have been employed in superior State service since two or three generations hold their heads high above,

those who are engaged in trade or cultivation. Originally there existed only six *gotras*, viz., Dhattátreya, Bharadwája, Páladeva, Aupamanyava, Maudgalya and Dhaumyáyana. By intermarriage and intermixture with other Brahmins the number of *gotras* multiplied to 199. According to some authorities there were only three principal divisions, viz., Bhat, Pandit and Rázdán, from which are derived the distinctive appellations of Koul, Sopori, Pandit and Raina. From these three families, as each took to a particular occupation, or by adoption or intermarriage with other *gotras*, other *gotras* came into existence.

Besides *gotra*, each family has a *krám* or nick-name added to the original name by reason of the head of the family's or any of his ancestor's special calling or because of such peculiar circumstance which has occurred to him. For instance, a man, named Wásdev, had a mulberry tree growing in his courtyard and, therefore. he was called Wásdev Tul (mulberry). He, in order to get rid of this nick-name, cut down the tree. But a *mund* (trunk) remained and people began to call him Wásdev Mund. He then removed the trunk of the tree but by its removal a *khud* (depression) was caused and henceforth people called him Wásdev Khud. He then filled up the depression and the ground became *teng* (a little elevated) and he began to be called Wásdev Teng. Thus exasperated, he left to do any further attempt to remove the cause of his nick-name and it continued to be Teng which is now attached to the names of his descendants.

The Kashmiri Brahmins perform their religious ceremonies and rites according to the Vedas of Laugákshi Rishi and the Nilamatpurána (Appendix II). They freely partake of fish and flesh. They intermarry, only avoiding *gotras* on both paternal and maternal sides. A list of the festivals observed by them is appended (Appendix III). Also a list of *gotras*, together with the two chief divisions of Bhánamásis

and Malmásis and the nick-names of the families belonging to each *gotra*, is appended. (Appendices IV and V.)

Pocock says that there are traces of the settlements of Kashmiris in Greece and from this he infers that the Kashmiri Pandits were originally Greek or Persian settlers in the Valley who were Brahmanised. It is by no means improbable that some Kashmiris went to Persia and Greece in the time of Darius Hystapse's invasion of the Punjab and Alexander's conquest of India (331 B.C.) and settled there. Hence there might be traces of Kashmiri settlement in those countries. It is possible that some people from Greece came and settled in Kashmir in ancient times. The tribe Mlecchas which existed here in the time of Ashoka is assumed to have been Greeks (*see* Rájatarangini I, footnote 10). These were driven out of the country by his son Jalauka. But Mlecchas were quite a distinct race from the Kashmiri Brahmins.

There is a tradition in Mahárashtra that white men like Kashmiri Brahmins got drifted in a storm on the Malabar Coast and, being supposed to be dead, were, however, found alive when attempted to be cremated. Probably it was a large number of fugitives from Kashmir in the time when Hindus here were being forced to embrace Islám. They might have been quite exhausted and emaciated as if looking dead after their long and tedious journey. The terms of this traditions are, I believe, a grossly exaggerated form of expression.

During the Muhammadan rule some Brahmins were once given option to either submit to the sword or take food prepared by a Musalman. They naturally quivered at the prospect of death and unwillingly accepted the latter alternative, but, in their anguish to reduce pollution to its minimum, made the Musalman cook boil rice in a new *lej* or earthen

pot and when ready they took it out from the *lej* with their own hands and reluctantly ate it. They afterwards expaciated for the forcible pollution by performing *Práyashchitta* but still the Birádari, who were as punctilious as ever, ostracised them, condemning them for not having preferred death to losing their caste by pollution as thousands others had boldly done under such circumstances. Their descendents are called Lejibat because of their ancestors having eaten food cooked by a Muhammadan in a *lej*. A stigma also attaches to the members of the caste known as Wurud or Purib who are the illegitimate offspring or are of a mixed union in which one of the parents is a Brahmin and the other a Khatri. No Brahmin will take food touched by a Lejibat, Wurud or Purib. In the time of Zain-ul-abdin the Brahmins, who studied Persian and took to government service, were called *Kàrkuns*. With the advent of Sikh rule in 1819 A.D. some *Kárkuns* began the study of Sanskrit literature again, and they were called Pandits. *Kárkuns* do not intermarry with *Báchabats*. Those who are versed in astrology and draw up calendars, cast horoscopes and profess to prophecy future events, are called *Jotshis*. The priests, who preside over Shiva worship, are called *Gurins*. The *Pányechh* are those who receive alms and other offerings connected with funeral obsequies. Their office is regarded as derogatory by the *Báchabats* as well as the *Kárkuns* who, for this reason, look down on them and refuse to take food from their hands.

DATTATREYA MUNISHWARA

IN the preceding Chapter it has been stated that the sect of Kouls is considered the highest of all. It may be interesting to know the account of their deified patriarch, the famous Dattatreya—the embodiment of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Protector and Shiva the Destroyer—all the three in one. His birthday (Datta Jáyanti) falls on 10th of the bright fortnight of the month of Maghar.

His name means "given to Atri (by gods)" and how it was given to him will be found from the following narrative* :

Once upon a time Saint Nárad discovered that the wives of the three chief gods had become so conceited that they vaunted they were the models of *pativratas*. A *pativrata* is a devoted and faithful wife who has not even dreamt of another mate. Nárad began his joke with Párvati by praising in her presence the virtues of Anasuya—the wife of Saint Atri : "So holy, so pious a wife, did not exist."

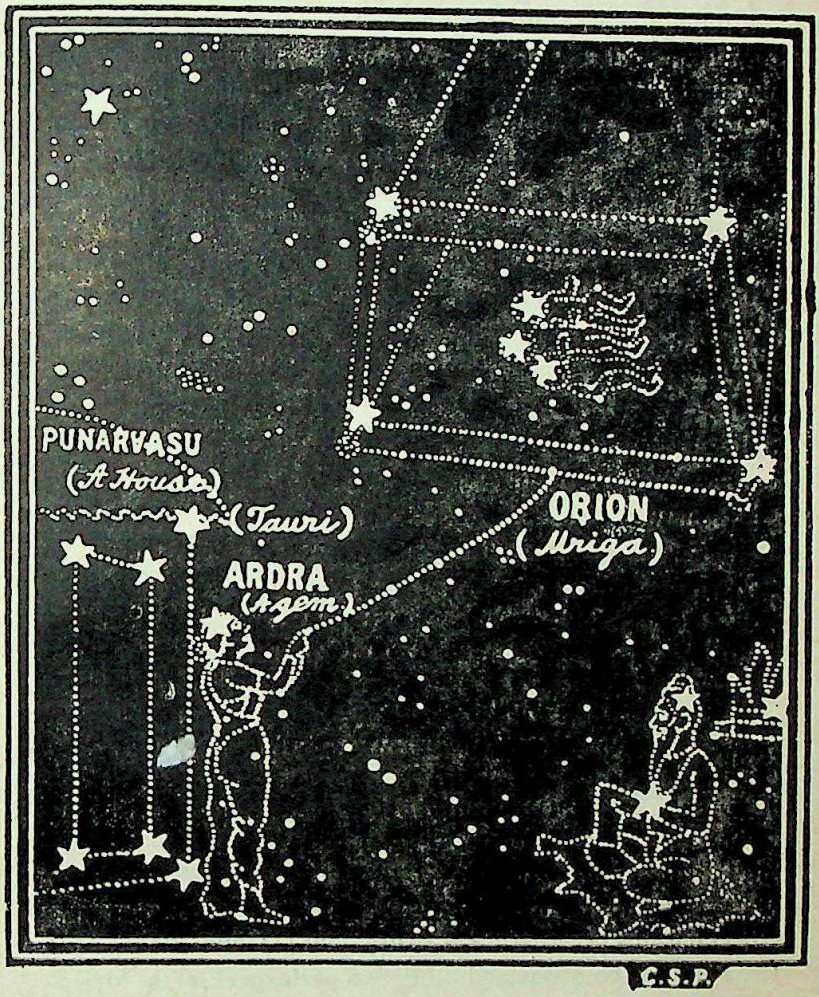
That remark raised the jealousy of the wife of Shiva and she induced her husband to so persecute the wife of the saint as to deprive her of her chastity ! Nárad then went to his father, Brahma, and in the presence of his own mother, Sávitri, he repeated the same high praise.

**Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials* by Rai Bahadur B.A. Gupta, pages 32 and 221.

Sávitri insisted on Brahma's persecuting the woman. Finally going to Vishnu, he sowed the same seed of discord with equal success. At the instigation of their wives the three gods started for the hermitage of Saint Atri and simultaneously reached it.

They shouted for alms, and the lady Anasuya came out with a handful of corn. They refused to accept and said that they wanted an *ıcchá-bhojan*, dinner with wished-for dainties. She consented. They were asked to bathe themselves in the adjoining river. By the time they returned, the food was ready. They took their seats. The hostess came out with the first plate. They refused to accept it and added an impossible condition. They said that she must come out nude ! Revolting though the very thought was, she reflected for a moment and, through her virtuous eye, could see the motive of the guests. She recognized them at once although they were dressed like mendicants. She took a cupful of water, washed her husband's feet with the liquid and sprinkled the washings over the guests. Wonderful to behold ! They became like babies ! She then threw away her *sárı* and lifted up each to suckle ! But the gods lost all power. They could not resume their original full-grown shapes ! They were all put in a cradle and lulled to sleep ! Their wives missed them ; they waited for their return, but were disappointed. They prayed, they cried—all in vain. Distracted, they started in search. Where the three roads to the three heavens meet, Nárad met them ! They asked him if he knew where their husbands were, as he was the living embodiment of all n-e w-s (North, East, West and South), and as he had access everywhere. He of course knew every thing, but he merely told them that they were seen going to Saint Atri's hermitage.

All the three goddesses went to that house. They enquired of Anasuya, if she knew where their husbands, the


PUNARVASU
(A House)
(Tauri)
ARDRA
(Agem)
ORION
(Mriga)
C.S.P.

greatest of gods, were. She replied in the affirmative and pointed to the cradle ! Oh lord ! husbands in cradle, nude all dumb ! Whal could they do ? Anasuya put all the three babies on a carpet and asked each goddess to pick up her own lord. Vishnu, the most knowing and the most jocular of them, winked at Brahma, and Brahma at Shiva. They thus conspired not to reveal themselves. The goddesses looked, looked again, looked once more, to see if they could, with any mark, make out who was who in that little group. At last Laxmi put her hands forward to lift up Shiva and every one laughed ! Shiva was not her husband ! Seeing Laxmi's discomfiture the other two goddesses withdrew and begged of Anasuya to restore their husbands to them. She was very willing to do them a good turn, but she added that as she had nursed the three gods as her babies they should, in return, induce them to stay with her as her children in some form or other. After due consideration of all the pros and cons it was decided that the three gods should assume a combination-shape. The hostess then again took a cupful of water, washed her husband's feet with it and sprinkled the washings containing the dust of the Brahman's feet over the babies. They regained their original shapes, blessed Anasuya and left with their crest-fallen wives ! Dattatreya, this child so born, has three heads, and six hands. The central one is Vishnu, the right hand one of the figure is Shiva and the left hand one is Brahma.

He is, therefore, called Trimurti or triple figure. He is represented in the firmament by the position of three constellations (1) Mriga, (2) Ardra, and (3) Punarvasu. The two stars of the horns and other two of the neck of the Mriga or antelope form a cradle-shaped figure and the three stars of the belt of Orion, represent the three babies mentioned above. The nearest and the next constellation is Ardra which is represented by one big star. Its name literally means a gem. Next to this constellation is the great Punarvasu, literally a

house, and is shaped like the front wall of a cottage with a doorway. Sirius, the brightest star in front of Orion, represents the Rishi Atri, and Ardra the gem represents Anasuya his wife. Punarvasu represents their hermitage, and Orion or Mriga the cradle with the three babies. It is said that when Trimurti came of age, he had four dogs in attendance. They represented the four Vedas. Just near Orion we have Cannis Major consisting of four stars. In Trimurti's portrait there is usually a fig tree (*ficus glomerata*) under which he stands. The stars of the horns of the Mriga constellation just above the head of the three bodies possibly supplied the material for the construction of the tree. Finally there is a cow usually painted near him. She possibly evolved out of Lupus.

POPULATION

THE population of the Kashmiri Pandits, according to the census of 1921, is as follows :

		Total	Males	Females
Srinagar		21,635	30,944	24,108
Muffasils		33,417		
Total ...		55,052		

Compared with the figures of the previous census they have increased by 3.5 per cent, which is very little compared to their Muhammadan brethren who have increased by nearly 7 per cent. A list of the proper names is appended. (Appendices VI and VII.)

OLD CLASSICS

THE Kashmiri Brahmins have ever been renowned for their genius and highest proficiency in learning. It is written in the Rájatarangini that Kashmir is noted for five things, namely, learning, lofty buildings, saffron, icy water and grapes. Throughout India, Kashi and Kashmir were, from ancient times, famous as the seats of learning, but Kashmir excelled even Kashi. The learned men of Kashi had to come to Kashmir to complete their education. Even to this day the people of Kashi make their boys walk seven paces towards Kashmir during the performance of the ceremony of their investiture with the sacred thread as a token of their having gone to, and returned from, Kashmir after completing their education. Kashmir produced scientists like Charaka, whose book on medicine is a marvel to the modern medical and surgical world. Here came men of culture and letters from distant countries and reverently sat at the feet of the great masters of learning and drank deep at the fountains of abstruse knowledge and arts. From here went forth teachers to distant countries with the torch of learning and dispelled the darkness of ignorance from there. In short, Kashmir was a grand arena of sciences and arts. Innumerable names of such illustrious persons, as have attained to the loftiest pitch of glory in the literary world, can be cited. There were poets, philosophers, grammarians, historians, astronomers and physicians, who, while living, shone like bright luminaries in the firmament. These master-minds and great thinkers immortalised themselves by writing books on different branches of sciences in which they gave the richest treasures of their wisdom and which are the wonders of the world.

There were also ascetics of the most sublime order who developed in themselves immense occult powers which beggar description. The Kashmiri Pandits have not only led the vanguard of intellectual but also of political pursuits. The cultured intelligence of this versatile community aspired to every avenue of public life. Raina or Rájdánika Brahmins were, as this appellation indicates, the ministers of Hindu Kings. Mereopole says that Kashmiri monks went and spread Buddhism in other parts of Asia. We learn from Chinese sources that there was a Kashmiri, named Shákyashri Bhadra, who went to China in 405 A.D. and taught people there. He was an expert in logic. He knew Tibetan language very well and wrote seven books on Buddhism in Sanskrit and translated several Tibetan books into this language. Another Kashmiri, named Ratnavjera, went in ancient times to Bodh Gayá where he was placed in charge of one of the departments of the Vekramásela University there. Subsequently he went to Udyána and thence to Tibet and taught Buddhism there. He wrote 14 books on Buddhism in Sanskrit and translated four Tibetan books into this language. Another Kashmiri, who worked as a preacher in China, was named Suraj Gupta. Another Kashmiri, named Shámа Bhat, went and taught people in Lhassah. Even to the present day the people there express their gratitude to Kashmir for having sent this apostle of learning to them and they worship his image, pronouncing his name as Thumi Sambhota. In short, Kashmir was a conservatory of rarest and richest human intellect and also of noble souls shedding rays of purity all round. But repeated political convulsions obliterated all. The country was plunged into utter oblivion. Forgotten were the sciences ; forsaken was everything ; and mis-shapen was all. The harvest grew not ; men, lived not ; an age of darkness and ignorance followed and the people were reduced to abject misery and, what wonder, that they became cowardly and indolent, sunk into a condition of weakness and timidity.

Thank Heaven, Kashmir was not doomed to be perpetually enveloped in darkness. A new era, brighter than ever, has happily dawned on it and it is gradually emerging from dim haze into bright light. His Highness the Maharaja Pratap Singh's first and foremost thought from the very day of his ascending the *gaddi* has been the advancement of education in the country and, during the last 40 years of his august and enlightened rule, his educational policy has been of a most liberal character. His Highness has established schools all over his vast territories and two fine colleges at the capitals of the two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. Every year large numbers of students pass the University examinations and, true to their traditions, distinguish themselves by topping the University list.

Lists showing the names of the mighty geniuses and master-minds of Kashmir are appended. (Appendices VIII and IX.)

LANGUAGE

THE Pandits speak the Kashmiri language. It is an admixture of Sanskrit and Persian and has got certain peculiar sounds which a foreigner cannot repeat even if he has spent his whole life among the Kashmiris. It is not a written language. Its grammar is perfect, the etymology and syntax being regulated by cast and fast rules with rare exceptions. There exists a rich stock of its literature, which is full of loftiness of thought and sweetness of language, but it is written either in Shárada or Persian character or is recited orally, descending thus from generation to generation. A Kashmiri Grammar, written in Sanskrit by Pandit Ishwar Koul in 1879 A.D., was edited by Sir George Grierson and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. Rev. T.R. Wade wrote a Kashmiri Grammar in 1886. Dr. Elmslie wrote a small Kashmiri Vocabulary in 1876. Sir George Grierson has recently written a complete Kashmiri Vocabulary. Rev. J. Hinton Knowles published a Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs with translation into English in 1884. The sayings of Laleshwari have recently been translated into English by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Barnett and published by the Royal Asiatic Society. The Rámáyan and Shiva Lagan (Shiva's Marriage) in Kashmiri, written by Prakásh Rám and Krishen Dás respectively, have recently been printed in Persian and Nágri characters and published. The Pandits are almost all literate in any or all of these languages—Urdu, Persian,

Sanskrit and English. In the census of 1921 their literacy was recorded as follows :

	Total	Male	Female
Literate	14,749	14,465	284
Illiterate	40,303	16,479	23,824
Literate in English	5,154	5,104	50

EARLY MARRIAGE

THE practice of early marriage is common amongst the Pandits. They deem it as one of the most important duties of their life to marry their children as early as possible, and early marriage is considered by them not only as a proper discharge of a religious duty, but also a *reflecting* credit in the family where it is preserved. The natural outcome of this is a very large number of virgin widows and also a feeble off-spring and high mortality among females at their first child-birth between 12-20 years of age. The following figures, culled from the Census Report of 1921, show the number of the married, the unmarried, and the widowed of different ages :

	Males			*Females*		
Age	*Married*	*Unmarried*	*Widowed*	*Married*	*Unmarried*	*Widowed*
0-5	...	2,981	...	...	2,746	...
5-12	33	4,830	2	103	4,831	6
12-15	97	2,369	...	550	977	54
15-20	467	2,261	10	1,558	78	53
20-40	6,164	4,086	432	6,858	29	1,145
40 and over	4,347	1,180	1,685	1,832	1	3,287
Total	11,108	17,707	2,129	10,901	8,662	4,545

Presents given off and on by the parents to their married daughters and sons-in-law are noted in Appendix X.

The number of widows is appalling, and of their wretched condition the less said the better. Many of them are young, innocent girls and many are cast on this inhospitable world quite unprotected and unprovided for. This is an evil that is eating into the vitals of our community.

About a century ago Pandit Hardas Tikku, who was a *rais* of his time, had, on his own young daughter having become widow, intended to have the custom of enforced widowhood of virgin widows abolished, but his aged and widowed mother prevented him from doing so by asking him to find a second husband for herself too, meaning thereby that if virgin widows were permitted to remarry the custom would, by and by, be relaxed in case of all widows which, she thought, was not advisable.

It is a crying need to adopt some means to mitigate the rigours of widowhood. It is to stop child marriage. Medical scientists say that human beings are subject to greater chances of death in childhood than later on. Child marriage was not in vogue in olden times but it became so when there was tyranny and terror rampant in the country. An Afghan would not molest a married woman, however pretty. So the only remedy to save the person and honour of a woman was to marry her young. But now there is light and justice and peace in the land and we may well abandon this evil practice. By giving up this bad custom we shall have no virgin-widows, and there will be nine chances out of ten, that a woman will have one or more children before becoming a widow, if widow she is destined to become.

The abolition of child marriage would be based on justice and sympathy with the weak and the humble.

The parents have no right to throw their daughters into a risk so disastrous in its results. We compare horoscopes of the couple and the nuptials are celebrated after the Brahmins declare that the different stars agree. These stars, someone has feelingly said, must be trembling with fear when the nuptials are celebrated in their name.

Our brethren in British India have given up child marriage and we must follow their excellent example.

CHARACTER

IT is difficult to give a people's characteristics. If we dive down deep into human character, no one would stand the test. An English statesman of the last generation said that he did not know how to frame an indictment against a whole nation. The character of a people must, however, be studied from the historical and psychological stand-points and not merely from the logical one. We should be satisfied if the main essential traits of it are right without throwing out insinuations which are all the more damning because they cannot be adequately proven.

The Kashmiri Pandit is famous for hospitality. Pay a visit to him and he will treat you to the point of worship. It is not uncommon that he will offer food prepared for himself to a guest who chances to come unexpectedly in his house and will himself remain hungry until fresh food is prepared for him. If a guest comes to his house and he has got no cash at hand wherewith to buy tea to be served to him, he will secretly go and pawn one of his personal effects and bring the tea. Well has some one said :

"Zara zara hai mere Kashmir ká mihmán-naváz
Ráh men pathar ke tukrún se milá páni mujhe."

"Everywhere greets me the hospitable host of may Kashmir
I got water from even the pebbles on the way."

The Pandit is truly of 'simple breed'—simple in food and simple in dress. Patience and resignation are writ large

on his behaviour. Give him a slap on the right cheek and he will turn the left but will never provoke you to a quarrel. So law-abiding he is that he regards a State official as a 'fiat of destiny.' He is kind to his family and respectful to ladies and is loath to remain away from home, often embracing idleness as a refuge from it. He is free from crime against the person and from burglary and thievery. Being naturally sober-minded, he has no lust for passion. Wine and other drinks he spurns at. Contentment dominates his character. 'So long as rice and millet grow and salt is not dear, his life is much the same and gods may be propitiated.'

The Panditáni is, indeed, a picture of self-denial. She abhors fashion from her very core. She is noted for modesty, punctiliousness and chastity and also for industry and thrift. She is brought up to be a mother, never a wife, having been given the epithet of *bacha-pasand* (fond of children). She is a picture of self-abnegation. She has not become a wife by self-assertion or by the survival of the fittest. She stands resplendent as the mother worshipful, not a beautiful wife to be wooed. She towers above low humanity because of her moral grandeur and not physical charms. Her high spiritual status is reflected in the mythology ; indeed the Pandits nay, all Hindus, think habitually of God as She.

The Pandit is intelligent. Even at a distance in the Durbár he can tell by observing the movements of the Secretary's pen what orders are being dictated by the Maharaja. Aurangzeb once paid a compliment to his intelligence at Agra as is recorded in the *Ruqát-i-Alamgiri* : "*Kashmiri darin mulk nistand ki má muqurar kunem*"— (The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in public offices).

He is shrewd, alive to the comic touch, and has a natural gift of repartee. During the Pathán rule a Pandit

was asked by a Sirdár why there were 108 beads in the rosary round his neck. "Because the beads are used to keep count in the recitation of the name of Haq (God)" was the ready reply, "the two letters of H and Q standing as they are for 108 in reckoning by *abjad*." Diwán Dilá Rám Quli Khán was once sarcastically asked by Timur Sháh Duráni at Kábul why the *tika* mark was made by him on his forehead. He replied that it indicated that God was one. Timur Sháh enquired why the ears were also marked. He explained that it was to show that they were two witnesses to this fact. Timur Sháh, in order to baffle him, further asked why the throat was also besmeared. He replied that it meant that whoever entertained any doubt about it was fit to be beheaded. The King was pleased with the plausibility of the answers to his questions and then Dilá Rám Quli Khán bore the bell by adding the following two couplets in Persian :

"Bar chahra am nazar kun peshánam bibin
Dágha ghulámia Shahi-Maulást bar jebin"
"Gar Musalmán káfir o káfir Musalmán shud chi shud
Ancha báyad shud na shud gar in u gar án shud chi shud."

"Look at my face and see my forehead
The mark of slavery of the Master King is on my forehead"
"If Musalmán became a *káfir* or *káfir* a Musalmán
If he did not become what he ought to (*i.e.*, pious, God-fearing, etc.)
What matters it if he became this (*káfir*) or that (Musalmán)."

Mahárája Guláb Singh once reproachfully remarked—"The Pandits are coward and lack martial spirit, hence they shirk taking to the military service." A Pandit being present at once replied—"Pray, thank Heaven, the Pandits do not take to military service, for do you not remember what one single Brahmin (Paras Rám) did in ancient times after he

wore his belt and sword" ? The Pandit's tenacity, adaptability and elasticity as regards his political environment has cruelly been construed to mean cowardice. He has survived the most ruthless, barbarous and savage rule which he was subjected to in the past. Given the same destructive and fatal circumstances to live and work under, can there be found a people, other than the Kashmiri, who could endure this inhuman rule for six odd centuries and survive it ? The sons of Avantivarma and Lalitáditya, and the progeny of the blessed Rishis struggled hard, and that in a peculiar way, against the brutal activity of the religiously fanatic administrators. It was neck or nothing with them in order to save their own religion. Hundreds were put to sword, thousands were flung into the rivers and lakes or killed in their homes. With indomitable courage, both physical and moral, they faced death at the hands of the "Deputies of God" and their so-called *servants* sent to rule over them. Is it not then the tenacity, the adaptability and elasticity of the Kashmiri that has helped him to survive atrocities and has it not again been foolishly termed cowardice ? His motive of superlative strength is to act worthily of the family, to bring no disgrace upon his ancestors, and to do everything to build up and strengthen the heritage of the family. Free from bigotry, the Pandit deals impartially with all the other communities. He is essentially a man of peace, living peacefully and complacently with his Muhammadan brethren, so much so that he often worships near the same place where they do. Untouchability, in the rigid sense of the word, is unknown to him. Having been under the yoke of foreign rule for centuries he fears a person come from abroad but, under a compatriot of his, he frets and gets cheeky. He takes delight in hearing sensational political news and to know the change of high officials, though the one rung out and the one rung in may both be strangers to the country. He is garrulous, anti-everything and will gossip the whole day. He is courteous, polite and graceful to a fault. His aesthetic

sense is considerably developed. He is fond of things beautiful. He likes rich food. In caligraphy he has a good taste and a Pandit's handwriting is readily distinguishable. He is an excellent clerk with a good accounts head. His pronunciation in any language is distinct and accurate. With even a little knowledge he polishes his intellect to a high degree. He has got a peculiar kind of genius. Everything brings grist to his mill. Put him wherever you will, he is sure to shine out. He devises big plans and executes them faithfully. His judgment is sound and his counsel pregnant with wisdom. In superior service he shows marvellous capacity. He conceals poverty, trying to make his figure presentable much more than his narrow circumstances permit. This is a proof of his possessing self-respect. A man may have had eaten nothing in his own house, yet he will go out with a toothpick in his hand playing with his teeth to feign having had his meal *plus* meat. There is an amusing story current that once a would-be gentleman had no meal in his house, but before going out he rubbed oil out of his lamp on his moustaches so that those who met him might infer, from the glistening of them, that he must have had a feast with an abundance of ghee therein. But accidentally the wick had stuck to his finger when taking out the oil from the lamp and it was caught in one of his moustaches. Any one who saw his moustache could not resist being moved to a smile, while he thought the smile was a proof of his trick having succeeded to make others believe that he had had a sumptuous feast, and so he prolonged his lounge and saunter in the bazar. In the evening he returned home and, actuated by vanity, he brought his looking-glass to see how his moustaches were glistening and was abashed to find the wick on one of them which, he now realized, was the real cause of the smiles of the people in the bazar. A poor man will deny himself the luxury of milk or meat in order to save a pice or two for purchasing soap to wash his clothes. The proverb he will quote is—

Yad mtsarit chhuh nah kánh wuchhán tannth sárt wuchhán

(No one looks into the stomach but everyone sees the body.)

During the Pathan rule a typical Pandit, fond of showing himself off as a gentleman, was going about with a turban very artistically bound. A Pathan caught sight of his pretty turban and thought it would make a nice strong cloth for his own *kamarband* ; so he snatched it away from his head. But, lo, on opening it he found that it consisted of several rags tied immaculately one upon another ! This, of course, gave disappointment to the Pathan, who flung it back on the Pandit, adding a slap to his head as a punishment for having worn a sham turban which deceived him to take unnecessary trouble.

The Pandit considers charity as a sacred duty. No beggar will go empty-handed from his door. No Pandit will take his meal before giving a portion thereof to birds and dogs. The piously disposed go and put rice wherever they find ants swarming in search of food. Even a snake, far from being killed, is offered a plateful of milk.

Batah Batah káw batah (the Pandits are like crows) is a proverb, showing that the Pandits help and sympathise with one another like crows who are gregarious and who, on finding any food anywhere, caw aloud inviting others of their own species to share it with them. Methinks, this virtue the Pandits might have possessed in times olden, but it has declined among the present generation. At present the following saying is unfortunately true :

Káshmiri ba Káshmiri guft
Kásh miri ki man khalás shavam,

meaning that a Kashmiri desires the destruction of his fellow countryman. The Pandit is loyal and faithful to his master of which numerous evidences can be found in the history of Kashmir. He has got the nack of speedily adapting himself to the changed circumstances. During the Pathan rule he wore a girdle round his waist, *chakma* and *dulák* on his feet and studied Persian ; during the Sikh rule he wore a long flowing beard ; during the Dogra rule he wore long moustaches, and, since the change in court languages, has begun to shave his beard clean and to wear his clothes after English style.

Other characteristics of the Pandit are illustrated in the following proverbs :

Batas tsed (The Pandit has endurance). *Batah mor shenkih* (The Pandit died of hesitation), *i.e.*, is over-cautious. *Batah gav gratah* (The Pandit is a mill), *i.e.*, is industrious. Once he plunges into a business he is apt to show indefatigable courage and will work from morn till night. He will put his heart into any work entrusted to him, his motto being that there is no more miserable and useless creature on earth than he who loves not his "wife" and his "work." *Batas bod doh tah phákah* (On his big day the Pandit fasts), *i.e.*, is religious. *Batah mari Mági* (The Pandit is apt to die in the month of Mágh), *i.e.*, attends to his personal cleanliness not desisting to bathe in the river even in the coldest season. *Batah chhuh butlayih záts jaldai tatán jaldai terán* (The Pandit is of the nature of a brazen pot—quick to get heated and quick to get cold), *i.e.*, is spendthrift and as soon as he earns something he spends it quickly, not keeping by anything to fall back upon in the rainy days, so, when these days come, he shrinks to penury. Self-sacrifice is a marked feature in his character. A joint family is esteemed and respected. One breadwinner may have several relations in his house as his dependents.

I have, so far, dwelt on only the bright side of the picture. It has also got the other side. There are certain foibles in the Pandit's character. He is lethargic, often embracing idleness as a refuge from going to alien land. He hankers after State employ. An apprenticeship in an office he hails as a gift of fortune. He is apathetic towards arts, crafts, industries, manual labour, business and agriculture. He is envious towards the members of his own community with the inverse ratio of distance in relationships and connections. Fortune generally frowns upon him but, if she ever happens to smile, he becomes puffed up. He lacks backbone and fights shy when you meet him.

But the critics are prone to make exaggerations in maligning him (though he is more sinned against than sinning) and silly abuses out of number are hurled over his devoted head. One man writes thus—

Be gharaz nist agar dústi ighár kunand
Ba khusúmat chu daráyand na joyand sabab
Ba muhabbat chu zubáb o ba murúwat zambúr
Ba sakháwat chu ghuráb o ba sujá'at artab.

"It is not without selfishness if they show friendship
"When intent to quarrel they (Pandits) need have no cause
"In love he is like a fly ; in helping like a hornet
"In generosity like a crow ; in valour like a rabbit."

Lanepools says that Kashmir is the home of lies.

The vilification just referred to, reiterated generation after generation, comes to be accepted as embodying irrefragable verities and breeds a settled contempt and aversion for the weaker, vanquished people in the minds of men and women of the dominant race ; the prejudice thus established and perpetuated being easily mistaken for a fundamental

instinct due to subtle causes traceable to eternal and unalterable laws of nature. But those who have studied them thoroughly express a different opinion about them. Sir W.R. Lawrence has written in his book *"Valley of Kashmir"* that the Kashmiris are honest and reliable. The same has been testified to by Sir Lepel Graffin and other learned judges of men. Dr. Ernest F. Neve, who has spent over 22 years in close touch with the people of Kashmir, says in his very interesting book *"Beyond the Pir Punjal"*—

"On the whole the Kashmiris are grateful to benefits. Their moral sense is fairly developed. They readily distinguish from right and wrong."

Of the Pandits he says—"Their intellectual superiority over the rest of the population must be admitted. They are quick of apprehension and have good memories. One of their besetting faults is conceit. But some of them are very superior, trustworthy, honest, clear-headed and industrious." A French gentleman, M. Hick, has written that the Kashmiris are a race of a most superior order in every respect.

POLITICAL CHANGES

THE political changes in Kashmir, ever so exciting and stormy, are a series of the most tragic tales. On reading them one irrisistably draws a deep sigh and exclaims—what a sequence of events, what transitions over vast intervals of time, how frail and ephemeral by contrast the life of man !

In the long reign of Rájadeva (1216-40) the Brahmins of Kashmir were subjected to crucial tyranny and terrorism. They were dissatisfied with the King's rule and broke forth into a cry against him. Thereupon he descended upon them and rent them, so much so that the cry "*Na Bhatto'ham*" went forth.

Islám made its way into Kashmir in the beginning of the fourteenth Century of Christian era and it was characterised by fighting, military expeditions, conquests and so forth.

The last Hindu King was Sahadeva (1305-24). In his time came three outsiders in Kashmir. One was Sháhmir from Swat. He was grandson of Fur Sháh, a famous hermit, and therefore was greeted by Sahadeva with full respect and was granted a village, called Dárivir in the Kruhen Pargana, as Jágir. The second was Renchan Sháh, a Tibetan Prince, who had been defeated by his uncle and had come as a fugitive here. Sahadeva, mindful of the claims of hospitality and Royal etiquette, gave him protection and granted him a subsidy. The third was Lankar Chak, a ruler of Dardistán, who, having been vanquished in a battle by his enemies,

came to Kashmir and he was likewise given protection and subsidy by Sahadeva. Devoid of sagacity and precience, Sahadeva little knew that these outsiders, whom he was harbouring in his Kingdom with such kindness, would soon overthrow the Hindu rule in Kashmir.

In 1322 A.D., Zulqadr Khán *alias* Dulch, a descendent of Changez Khán,—his very name, like the sound of a hurricane, fills one with dread—with a force of 70,000 cavalry came from Turkistan and invaded Kashmir. During his depredations, which lasted eight months, he converted the people forcibly to Islam. Thereafter he left for his native land *via* Khuri, taking 50,000 Brahmins as slaves. While crossing the Devasar Pass, a snow-storm occurred in which he, together with his own troops and the Brahmin slaves, perished. This place is since called Bata Gajan, meaning the Brahmin's death-oven. During the invasion of Dulch, Sahadeva fled towards Kishtwár and Sahadeva's Commander-in-Chief, Rám Chandra, to Gagangir. After Dulch left Kashmir, Sahadeva, being of a timid disposition, did not like to come back. Rám Chandra then came to Kashmir and assumed the rule. Renchan Sháh and Sháhmir took service under him. After sometime they intrigued againts their master and killed him treacherously when he was sleeping in his room. Renchan then assumed the rule of the country, appointing Sháhmir as Governor. He married Kuta Ráni, the daughter of his master, Rám Chandra. He did not know anything of his own religion and wanted to become a Hindu. But the Brahmins of Kashmir, headed by one Deva Swámi, did not admit him to their caste and then one night he determined to embrace the religion of that person whom he should happen to see first the following morning. In the morning he chanced to see first of all Bulbul Sháh, a Muhammadan Faqir (whose *ziárat* is situated at the fifth bridge in Srinagar), and he at once became a convert to Islam. Renchan died after ruling for two years and seven months.

Udwandeva, brother of Sahadeva, who had fled during the depredations of Dulch to Pakhli, now returned and ascended the throne (1327 A.D.). He married Kuta Ráni, the widow of Renchan, and appointed Sháhmir as his Prime Minister. In 1331 A.D. a Tartar chief, named Urdan, invaded Kashmir with a large army *via* Hirpur. Udwandeva, who was a weak-minded prince, fled towards Tibet. But Kuta Ráni showed great firmness and courage and under her orders Sháhmir, at the head of Kashmir army, gave the enemy battle and defeated him. After this Udwandeva returned from Tibet, but Sháhmir, taking advantage of his imbecility, was virtually conducting the administration. Udwandeva died after reigning for 15 years and two months, and then Sháhmir usurped the throne and began to rule under the title of Sultán Shams-ud-Din. He proposed to Kuta Ráni to marry him but she spurned to accept his hand. Thereupon he went and laid siege to her palace in order to compel her to acquiesce in his request. The seige lasted long. The brave Ráni, aided by her faithful servants, held out with great tenacity against overwhelming odds. At last, exasperated and finding no way to escape, she determined to put an end to the beleaguered situation which was entailing extreme suffering on herself and her innocent and loyal attendants. She sent word to Sháhmir, informing him that she would now accept his offer. On hearing this, Sháhmir's joy knew no bounds. A day for celebrating the nuptials was fixed. When this longed-for day came, there were rejoicings, gaieties and merriments all about. Kuta Ráni clad herself in the richest costume and wore her most precious ornaments. But, behold ! as soon as Sháhmir entered her apartment, she stabbed herself to death, calling him a despicable wretch for his wicked and impure intention to touch her who was his master's widow and hence his mother. Needless to say that this tragedy blackened the face of Sháhmir and added lustre to the bright name of the chaste and virtuous Kuta Ráni.

Sultán Shams-ud-Din was thus the second Muhammadan ruler in Kashmir and his dynasty reigned for 32 years. Sikandar, the Iconoclast, and Ali Sháh, who were 6th and 7th rulers of this line, excelled Dulch in their zeal to make converts to Muhammadanism and again the cry *na Bhatto'ham* went forth. In the time of Sultán Shaháb-ud-Din (1359-78 A.D.) Mir Sayed Ali came here from Hamadán (Perisa) and engaged himself in proselytizing. The Brahmins were firm in strictly keeping their caste. Death's dark vale had absolutely no terror to them. There remained only eleven families, all others either having been converted or having fled the country. Subsequently in the long and exceptionally peaceful rule of Sultán Zain-ul-Ābdin (1420-70) A.D., who was noted for religious toleration, Brahmins from the Deccan and other parts of India came here. The Koul family came from Methelapore(Dhurbhanga). Their patriárch was Maheshwar Náth Koul. The Dar family, headed by Mira Pandit, came from Ellichpore. The newcomers assumed the appellation of Bhánamási in contradistinction of Malmási which appellation the indigenous inhabitants had assumed. These have reference to the astrological calendar observed by the two races, Malmásis meaning those belonging to lunar and Bánamásis to the solar months. In leap years their intercalary month occurs in two different seasons and the people of each race perform the *Shraddhas* of their dead at Mattan (Mártand) on Sundays and Amávasya of their respective month. The above distinctions, however, did not interfere with intermarriage or social position. In the time of Zain-ul-Ábdin the Brahmins studied Persian and reasserted their traditional occupation, namely, government employ, and they began to be called Kárkuns. The Kárkuns kept their daughter's sons as their priests and these were called Báchabats or Gurus.

Zain-ul-Ábdin gave the Hindus due share in the administration. His physician was Shirya Bhatta. Bhadhi Bhatta and Dhori Bhatta were his courtiers, the former having the duty of reading out the *Sháh Námah* to him.

After Zain-ul-Ábdin the gloom again supervened. His successor Haider Sháh (1474-75), who was a drunkard, persecuted the Hindus to the extreme.

Sultán Fateh Shah (1489 A.D.) was the 12th Sultán of Kashmir. For nine years his Minister was Musa Raina, a bigotted Shia, who tyrannised the Hindus, imposing *zajya* on them and destroying their temples. It is said of him that he forcibly converted 24,000 Brahmin families to his own religion. Nature too frowned then upon the Brahmins. By the close of this Sultán's rule (923 Hijra or 1516 A.D.) about 9,000 Pandits, including women and children, who were going on a pilgrimage to the Harmukh Ganga, perished on the Mahalesh Marg owing to having lost their way at night. The place where they perished is called Hap Radan (dead defile). The following Persian couplet gives the chronogram of this catastrophe :

Az biyábán kashida sar tárikh
Ghúl guftá—"Tabáhiye Panditán."

Having lifted its head from the desert, the date was said by the will-o'-the-wisp—"the destruction of the Pandits."

The Chak rule in Kashmir commenced in 1554 A.D. Gházi Khán was the first ruler and he tyrannised the Hindus to embrace the Shia religion. His ancestor was Lankar Chak who had come to Kashmir in the time of King Sahadeva. This dynasty, consisting of seven rulers, reigned up to 1585 A.D.

Kashmir now fell in the hands of the Moghals and their rule lasted up to 1753 A.D. They deputed 63 Governors whose rule was characterised by justice excepting that of Qulich Khán (1606), Muzaffar Khán (1690), Abu Nasar Khán (1694), J'afar Khán (1707), Aghar Khán (1728) and Iradát Khán (1620) who are remembered to have exercised tyrannies over the Brahmins. There are many instances to show how just the Moghals were. The contrast between the past and the present was, perhaps, the most vivid comparison of its kind. One instance is given here by way of an example :

The Hindus of Kashmir complained against Qulich Khán to Emperor Jehángir. The Emperor sent to him a warning in the following words in Persian :

Hakúmat panáhá ! Dádkhwáhán-i-tu bisyár, shukr-guzáran-i-tu kam, ábi saháb bar lab-i-t-rashnagán birez warnah az hakúmat barkhiz.

Iftikhar Khan, *alias* Afgan-i-Sher, was appointed as governor of Kashmir in 1674 A.D. The following is briefly the account recorded in Gurmukhi in the *Guru Khalsa Twarikh*, by Bhai Gyan Singh Gyani, in its Part III, page 1354, and also in the same language in the *Suraj Prakash* by Bhai Santosh Singh Gyani (in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) in its Part I, Chap. X :

"Under the commands of Aurangzeb, Iftikhar Khan was using torture towards the Pandits in Kashmir, and was forcibly converting them to Islam. He also used to seize pretty Panditani girls and make them over as gifts to the Musalmans for their *harems*. Some pious men among the Pandits then met and decided to go to Amar Nath and invoke mercy of Shiva there for deliverance from the

tyrannies of this bigot. At the Amar Nath Cave one of the Pandits saw Shiva in a dream who told him to go to Teg Bahadur, the Ninth Sikh Guru, in the Punjab and ask for his help to save the Hindu religion. He spoke to his companions about this revelation. Then they returned, and about 500 Pandits collected and proceeded to Amritsar and thence to Anandpur where Guru Teg Bahadur was living. They told him about the terrible atrocities committed on them by Aurangzeb's governor, Iftikhar Khan, in Kashmir. The Guru was deeply touched on hearing the details, and was in a sorry and pensive mood. At that time his son, Guru Govind Singh, who was then a child of nine years of age and was playing outside, came to him. He saw a crowd of Pandits sitting there in distress and his father mute as a fish. He asked his father what he was contemplating. Guru Teg Bahadur, pointing towards the Pandits, told his son mournfully that these Hindus were being forced to renounce their religion and that, he thought, they could be protected if some holy man offered himself to be sacrificed for them. Guru Govind Singh, with folded hands, said to him—"Father, who else is a holier man, fit for being sacrificed than yourself for saving the Hindu religion ? It is, you know, the foremost duty of a Kshatriya to give his head for rescuing the cow and the Brahmin." Guru Teg Bahadur told him—"I have absolutely no hesitation in giving my head but I am grieving that, as you are a child of nine years only, who would take your care after me." Guru Govind Singh replied, earnestly, "Almighty God would take my care". Guru Teg Bahadur was pleased to hear this courageous answer from his worthy son and then advised the crowd of the Pandits to go to Aurangzeb and tell him straight-away that they, together with all the Brahmins in Kashmir, were quite ready to embrace Islam if Teg Bahadur, who was the Chief Guru of the Hindus, would first be converted. The Pandits went to

Nawab Zalim Khan, the then governor of Lahore, and presented to him their petition which had been dictated by Guru Teg Bahadur. The governor gladly endorsed it and gave it back to the Pandits for presenting it to the Emperor at Delhi. He gave them all necessary help for reaching that place safely. They went and presented the petition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor was highly gratified to read it, as he thought that the mere conversion of one man would automatically accomplish his wicked design. He called the *Qazies* and *Moulvies* in a Durbar and joyfully announced the contents of the petition to them. Of course, they all received the tidings with acclamation. He told the Pandits that he cheerfully accepted the condition laid. He sent them back to Kashmir, making suitable arrangements for their return journey. He wrote to Iftikhar Khan, governor of Kashmir, to desist from forcible proselitising, for, he said, he was now satisfied that no more force was needed for attaining the object in view.

Aurangzeb sent a letter by an official to Guru Teg Bahadur at Anandpur, inviting him to come to Delhi. Before the Imperial Officer reached him, the Guru, accompanied by five attendants, started for Agra on 11th Har 1732 (24th June 1675 A.D.). At Agra he was arrested by the Kotwal there and sent to the Emperor at Delhi. His five attendants went with him, reaching Delhi on 1st Maghar 1732 (15th November 1675 A.D.). He had an interview with the Emperor. The latter pressingly solicited to him to embrace Islam. The Guru had words with him, roaring emphatically that he spurned the idea. The Emperor, thereupon, being off the hooks, wrinkled his brows and ferociously ordered the executioner to take the Guru to a place to be beheaded there. While being taken to be put to death, the Guru quietly told one of his five attendants, Bhai Jita, that, after

he was beheaded, he should take away his head to Guru Govind Singh. On 13th, Maghar 1732 (27th November 1675 A.D.) Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. Bhai Jita stealthily took away his head. He cut and ran. When he neared Anandpur, Guru Govind Singh went forth to meet him and, bowing reverently, received his father's head. In the turban bound round the head was found a paper with the following ennobling words written thereon *Sar-i-Khud dadam magar sir-i-Khuda na dadam*, meaning that he had given his head but not God's secret (*i.e.* religion). The head, which wore the glorious crown of martyrdom, was duly cremated. Guru Govind Singh, being intensely grieved at the ferosity of Aurangzeb in killing his innocent father, took a solemn vow to avenge his death by taking to arms and embarking on a crusade to free the country from the Muslims."

What Guru Govind Singh thenceforth did is well known to the student of the Indian History and need not be recapitulated here. Courage and inflexible constancy formed the basis of his glorious character. The sensibility of feeling the misfortunes of the miserable and his address and earnestness in relieving their wants, for which his all he ventured and sacrificed, revealed how exalted and benevolent a soul he was.* He taught mankind practically in the words of Osgood Elliot :

But let thy heart and hand commit those deeds
That love for man and faith in God beget.

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* *Dharam ko ankar Dasavin Guru Ji ne bachaya hai*
Kiya qurban betun ko pita ka sis laya hai.
The tenth Guru came and saved the religion at the sacrifice of his sons' lives and his father's decapitation.

His deep and unflinching love of liberty and justice for the depressed and oppressed attracts, from its elevation, the attention and the praises of us little mortals below. In short, no man can more truly be said to have lived. His heroic life reminds one of Lord Macaulay's fine lines :

To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late;
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods ?

"O protector of administration ! Thy complainants are many, thy thank-givers few. Pour cloud water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration."

This warning had not the desired effect and the Governor was at once dismissed.

Pandit Tota Rám was the Peshkár of Mirza Yusuf Khán who was the governor of Kashmir in 1586 A.D. Ali Mardán Khán was the governor of Kashmir in 1642 and again in 1651 A.D. His Peshkár was Pandit Mahádev to whom he entrusted all powers of administration. The Muhammadans became jealous of him and, headed by one fanatic, Khwája Mám, they set fire to Pandit Mahádev's house and also slew a large number of Brahmins. When this report reached the Emperor Sháh Jehán, he was very much incensed and punished the offenders.

In 1720 A.D., Mula Abdul Nabi *alias* Muhta Khán, who was the Shekh-ul-Islám of Kashmir, gave instructions to the then governor, Mir Ahmad Khán, for certain insensate destructive measures against the Hindus, but the governor

did not comply. Muhta Khán then instigated the Muhammadans who plundered and set fire to the houses of the Hindus. Muhta Khán was, after sometime, assassinated by one Sayid Azhar Khán (whose office of tax collector had been usurped by him) in a Shia's house and the result was that Shias shared the same fate as Hindus at the hands of Sunni mobs. Muhta Khán was succeeded by his son, Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din, as Shekh-ul-Islám and he carried on the persecution of Hindus like his father. Four governors of Kashmir were deputed one after another by Emperor Muhammad Shah, but they all failed to re-establish peace in the country. The fifth governor was Abdul Samad who came in 1722 A.D. with a large force from Lahore. He put Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din to death and, in one excursion from Náid Kadal to Khwája Yárbal, he hanged 50 insurgents. The Pandits had been forbidden to bind turban, to ride, to put on good clothes, to wear *tilak* and to send their sons to schools for the past one and half year. He removed these restrictions. There was justice again in the land, and the bards sang—

Haka áv Samad phutrun zin
Na rúd kuni Sharaf na rúd kuni Din.

"Samad (horse) came swiftly. There remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere."

When Nasir-un-Din Muhammad Shah was the Emperor, a man, named Zairám Bhán, went from Srinagar to Delhi and there became his Diwán. He was a very poor man, his mother working as water-carrier in a *Jotshi's* house. One day she showed her son's horoscope to the *Jotshi*. He found therein that the boy was destined to become a big personage. He, therefore, gave his daughter in marriage to him despite

his wife's protests against his selecting such an abjectly poor widow's son. When he was a grown-up youth, he left Kashmir for Delhi *via* Rajauri. At Rajauri he, being tired, slept under the shade of a tree. The shade gradually passed off and the fierce summer sun began to shine upon his face. At that moment a snake appeared and kept its hood above Zairám Bhán's head, protecting him from the rays of the hot sun. When he woke up the snake slipped away. This was noticed by the Rája of Rajauri from the balcony of his castle. He wondered at it and thought the man must be a saint. He invited him to his castle and treated him with much hospitality. When Zairám Bhán asked for leave to go he gave him a handsome sum of money for his journey expenses. Reaching Delhi he sat near the gate of the Palace. As he had nothing to do he began to beguile away his time by keeping a record of people going in and coming out of the Palace. One day a concubine was lost in the *haram* and it became known to him. He totalled up his record and found that no person had come out from the Palace in excess of the number gone in. So it was evident that the concubine was somewhere within the Palace. He sent this report to the Emperor. On this each man in the Palace was searched and it was found that the concubine lost had disguised herself as a man with the intention of escaping from the *haram*. The Emperor was pleased with P. Zairám Bhán's sagacity and at once raised him from the ditch of humility to the summit of honour by conferring upon him the exalted post of Diwán. His power and influence with the Emperor increased daily. Soon after P. Zairám Bhán called his mother and wife to Delhi, sending golden palankins to carry them in. Barkat Lon was his wife's foster-brother and he also accompanied them. One day his mother told P. Zairám Bhán to give some appointment to Barkat Lon who had so far come with them from Kashmir. P. Zairám Bhán, in

order to show his high power to his mother and his own countrymen, got him appointed as governor of Kashmir, deputing 500 cavalry as his body-guard, and he altered his name into Abul Barkat Khán. P. Zairám Bhán was living in a right royal style at Delhi. He had a palace to live in, which was thronged from morning to evening by high officials and visitors seeking his favours. For his riding, elephants, with golden howdahs and tapestries, were in attendance. One day he asked his mother if she was happy to see him risen to such an eminent position. She replied in the affirmative but, actuated by patriotism, added that she would have been far more happy if he even held a *Patwári's* post in his own Native land. For many years P. Zairám Bhán continued in power as Diwán and lived in clover. But his fall was as sudden as his rise. He had a son, named Náran Bhán, who used to be shown great affection by the Emperor, and was constantly found on his lap. One day the Emperor, while taking his food, was crushing a mutton-bone with his teeth and remarked—*Ustakhwán rá ajab lazatest*—"The bone has a good taste." The young boy, who happened to be present, cut a foolish joke by saying—*Sag diwána ast* ?—"Is dog mad ?—(that he relishes it so much)." This gave the Emperor so much offence that he, in his rage, got Nárán Bhan trampled to death by an elephant and he also dismissed P. Zairám Bhán from the post of Diwán, razing his palace to the ground and confiscating all his property.

The Pathán rule, which commenced from 1753 A.D., was the darkest age. During this period political upheavals made a fitful headway, the din whereof drowned the feeble voices of commonalty. As a rule the Brahmins care little for the troubles and ills of this life, but it would be difficult for them to forget all the miseries that their inhuman masters

heaped upon them. Twenty-nine governors were deputed by the Durani Emperors, and during the time of most of them, specially of Abdullah Sháh Ashk Aqási (1753-54 A.D.), Lál Muhammad Khán (1766). Karimdád Khán (1776-83), Azád Khán (1783-85), Madad Khán (1785-86) and Mir Hazár Khán (1793-94), wholesale terrorism prevailed. The following quatrain in Persian was appropriately said by a poet :

Khwást Haq kin zamin-i-miná-rang
Chún dile nai shawad ba Afghán tang
Kard bar wai musallat Afghán rá
Bágha Jamshed dád dewán rá

"It willed God that this paradise-like land
Should become miserable like the heart of (*huqqa*) pipe
with Afghán (or gurgling noise)
Caused Afgháns to overrun it
Gave away the garden of Jamshed to demons."

Abdullah Khán Ishk Aqási's assistant was Mir Muqim Kanth, a *rais* of Srinagar. They both oppressed the Hindus to the extreme. The former is said to have amassed one crore of rupees within six months of his governorship which he took home to Kábul. Mir Muqim was an extreme figure of terror to the Pandits and many a Pandit family fled away to down countries in his time. The following couplet became current then :

Ai dil hama waham u khauf ast darin shahr
Kun'azm-i-safar fitnah Muqim ast darin shahr.

"O heart there is all fear and dread in this city,
Prepare for journey; disorder is Muqim (dominant) in
this city."

The Hindus enjoyed a respite when Rája Sukh Jiwan became governor of Kashmir in 1754 A.D., who, after some time, declared his independence. He had P. Mahanand Dar as his Peshkár.

In 1762 A.D., Raja Sukh Jiwan was defeated in a battle by the Pathán army under the command of Núr Din Khán Bámizai who then became governor.

In 1765 A.D., Núr Din Khan appointed P. Kailás Dar as his Peshkár and Mir Muqim Kanth as judge. The Pandit had once been in the service of Mir Muqim Kanth but, as he was now holding a higher position, the Mir became jealous of him and tried to bring him into trouble. The Pandit then caused him to be assassinated and thus freed himself as well as his community from this tyrant.

Again darkness supervened when in 1766 A.D., Lál Muhammad Khán became governor. He persecuted the Hindus in a most brutal manner, ignoring all thoughts of humanity. His governorship, however, lasted fortunately for only six months, after which he was succeeded by Khurram Khán. The latter appointed P. Kailás Dar as his Peshkár. In his time the Hindus were treated well. But this spell lasted only for one year after which Mir Faqir Ullah Kanth, son of Mir Muqim Kanth, became an independent ruler and, to avenge his father's death, slew a large number of leading Hindus and forcibly converted 2,000 Hindus to Islám.

In 1770 A.D., P. Kailás Dar, who had gone with Khurram Khán to Kabul, succeeded to persuade the Emperor Ahmad Sháh to depute Khurram Khán again as governor of Kashmir. Both Khurram Khán and P. Kailás Dar came and they quelled rebellion which had occurred in Kashmir. But Khurram Khān remained governor this time for only six months.

Khurram Khán was succeeded by Amir Khán Jawán Sher who appointed Mir Fazil Kanth as his Peshkár. The latter, in order to avenge the death of Mir Muqim Kanth, killed P. Kailás Dar and persecuted the Hindus. The orgy of hatred and murder of Hindus was simply tragic.

After Amir Khán Jawán Sher came Háji Karim Dád Khán in 1776 A.D. He brought with himself P. Govind Rám Dar, nephew of P. Mahanand Dar, who had escaped with a number of Pandits to Kabul after P. Kailás Dar had been killed. He found Mir Fazil Kánth neglecting the collection of revenue and, therefore, he put him to death. He also destroyed the whole Kanth family for intriguing against him with Rája Ranjit Dev, the Rája of Jammu. He appointed P. Dila Rám Quli as his Diwán and kept P. Govind Rám Dar as his assistant.

Dilá Rám Quli was a very poor man living at Rainawári. His father was dead and his mother was eking out her existence by pounding rice of the people. One day she had obtained about half a seer of broken rice which she ground into flour and then baked three thick bread of it. She also cooked some fry fish. Dilá Rám being hungry, she gave him two bread and some fish. These he finished in no time and asked for more. The third and last bread, together with all the remaining fish, was given to him, and this too he ate and still asked for more. Thereupon his mother, vexed with her miserable lot, broke the empty earthen pot in which the bread and fish had been cooked, calling her son a hungry dog. Dilá Rám went from his house very much down-hearted and sat at the gát of Misha Sáhib where there was a *Sádhu* named Jiwan Sháh. The *Sádhu* called him and asked him to massage his legs which he did. Jiwan Sháh got pleased with him and asked him "*Hákim banakhá ki na hákima sund hahar.*" (Would you like to become governor or governor's wife's brother ?). Dilá Rám considered it a joke and he jokingly replied that he would like to become the governor's

brother-in-law, knowing that it was not an abuse to him as he had no sister. Jiwan Sháh told him "All right, you go." Dilá Rám went from here to the Hari Parbat and, after worshipping at the shrine there went for sight-seeing to the place where the governor was holding his office. At that moment the governor's brother-in-law, Tar Quli Khán, was reading out to him a petition written in poetry by some one who was burning in his heart at the atrocities committed by the governor and each verse ended with "*Sag shavi, sag shavi*" (thou shalt become a dog, thou shalt become a dog). The governor got offended at this and, in a sweep of his eye around, he noticed a poor Pandit at a distance. He summoned, him and told him to read out the petition. Dilá Rám read it out, changing the ending of each verse into "*Sag shavam, sag shavam*" (I shall become dog, I shall become dog). The governor asked him why it was read differently by his brother-in-law. Dilá Rám said that it was indecent to read like that before a governor. The governor got pleased with him and appointed him as his Diwán in place of his brother-in-law, Tar Quli Khán, whom he beheaded for his want of manners. He then conferred on him the title of Quli Khán which his predecessor had got. So Jiwan Sháh's prophecy was fulfilled. Nor did the name of dog, which Dilá Rám was angrily given by his virtuous mother, go in vain, as his calling himself by the same name before the governor marked the turning point in his fortune.

Pandit Govind Rám Dar was another central figure in Háji Karim Dád Khán's time who held a high post. But in spite of him and Pandit Diwán, Háji Karim Dád Khán's rule marked the culmination of campaign of outrages against the Hindus. It is a long tale of tragedies and extreme suffering and of every handicap possible. In his time two men, named Aslam Harkára and Bábu Harkára, were appointed to collect revenue. The former was blind and was going about in a

palankin, torturing the people who delayed payment. Háji Karim Dád Khán, intent on tyrannising the Hindus, once purposely kept Aslam Harkára and Bábu Harkára concealed and falsely accused certain Pandits of having murdered them. He tormented them with the smoke of cow-dung from a fire kindled around them. He then ordered that they be let off but an annual fine of Rs. 50,000 be recovered from the whole Pandit community in lieu of this smoke punishment. This used to be recovered so long as he was the governor and it was called *zar-i-dúd*, the smoke money.

Háji Karim Dád Khán died in 1783 A.D. (1197 Hijra). *Zálim-i-gaur and Zálim-i-bad-rag* give his chronogram. He was succeeded by his son Ázád Khán. P. Dilá Rám Quli Khán continued in his post. Ázád Khán excelled his father in the persecution of the Hindus.

Ázád invaded Punch and, after giving that town to plunder by his troops for one week, returned to Kashmir. He put P. Govind Dar to death at Punch.

Mirdád Khán became governor of Kashmir in 1786 A.D. He kept P. Dila Rám Quli Khán as his Diwán.

Mirdád Khán was succeeded by Jum'a Khán Alukzai in 1788 A.D. Munshi Bhawáni Dás, an accomplished Persian scholar, became his Peshkár. One day he composed the following couplet and presented it to Jum'a Khán :

Chu Haq taqsim-i-roze nek u bad kard
Muhammad Jum'a rá makhsusi khud kard.

"When God made the distribution of good and bad days;
"Muhammad made Jum'a (Friday) his own."

Jum'a Khán was so much pleased with this verse that he bestowed the village of Handwára in the Anantnág Tehsil as *Jágír* to Munshi Bhawáni Dás.

Mir Hazár Khán (1793-94 A.D.) was one of the worst governors of Kashmir. He put Diwán Dilá Rám Quli Khán to death on the road at Khánayár and also killed a large number of Hindus by drowning them in the Dal lake. In his time the Hindus were in the thrall of wildest terrorism and their shriekings were continually heard.

In 1794 A.D., Mir Hazár Khán was succeeded by Rahmatulláh Khán, but he remained in office for only four months and then returned to Kábul whither he was accompanied by P. Nand Rám Tikkú. This Pandit took service under Sháh Zamán's Prime Minister, Wafádár Khán, and soon rose to the high position of Diwán of Kábul. It is said that once, when Sháh Zamán was engaged in a war away from Kábul and Diwán Nand Rám Tikkú found money exhausted in the treasury, he struck coins in his own name with the following inscription : *Sim az M'abúd u zard az Nand Rám.* Meaning--Silver from God and coinage by Nand Rám.

Abdullah Khán Alukzai was the governor of Kaskmir from 1796-1808 A.D. He had appointed Pandit Sahaj Rám Dar as his Peshkar but Diwán Nand Rám got his own brother, Diwán Har Dás Tikkú, appointed from Sháh Zaman as Peshkár of Kashmir. Abdullah Khán Alukzai did not pull on well with Diwán Har Dás Tikkú, whereupon Diwán Nand Rám got him summoned to Kábul where he was imprisoned. After some time Abdullah Khán Alukzai escaped from the prison and came to Kashmir, declaring himself as an independent ruler. He then put Diwán Har Dás Tikkú in prison, But troops from Kábul under Sher Muhammad Khán Mukhtar-ul-Daulah came and Abdullah Alukzai was

defeated in a battle at Dwab Gáh. Then Sher Muhammad Khán Mukhtar-ul-Daulah kept his son, Atá Muhammad Khán, as governor of Kashmir. At this time Sháh Shuja, having been defeated in several battles at Pesháwar by Sirdár Azim Khán, took refuge before Mahárája Ranjit Singh. Diwán Nand Rám Tikkú went to him and, at his inducement, he came with some troops to take Kashmir. But here he fell into the hands of Atá Muhammad Khán who kept him as a prisoner in the Hari Parbat fort.

Atá Muhammad Khán appointed P. Sahaj Rám Dar as his Peshkár. Sirdár Fateh Muhammad Khán, Prime Minister of Mahmúd Sháh, who had ascended the throne of Kábul after Sháh Shujá, came to invade Kashmir. He got assistance of 10,000 troops under the command of Diwán Muhkam Chand from Mahárája Ranjit Singh in this expedition on the condition that he would pay him a yearly tribute of eight lakhs of rupees if he succeeded in his conquest. When Sirdár Fateh Muhammad Khán and his army reached Kashmir, Atá Muhammad Khán went out with his troops to oppose them but was defeated. He then brought out Sháh Shujá from the Hari Parbat fort to assist him but still failed before the formidable force of Sikhs and Patháns. Then, seeing that it was a gone goose with them, Atá Muhammad Khán and Sháh Shujá used other means to foil the enemy. They secretly communicated with Diwán Muhkam Chand and won him over with the promise that Sháh Shujá would give the famous diamond, *Kohi-Núr*, and Atá Muhammad Khán, the fort of Attock which was in his possession Mahárája Ranjit Singh if they were only saved from falling into the hands of Wazir Fateh Muhammad Khán. Thereupon Diwán Muhkam Chand stopped further operations against Sháh Shujá and Atá Muhammad Khán and subsequently took them both over to his side. He thus struck a double bargain. As Kashmir had been conquered and taken by Wazir Fateh Muhammad Khán he took eight lakhs of rupees, as the first tribute, from him and then left the

country, taking Atá Muhammad Khán and Sháh Shujá under his protection. The former surrendered the fort of Attock and the latter the *Kohi-Núr* to Mahárája Ranjit Singh.

After three months Wazir Fateh Muhammad Khán kept his brother, Sirdár Azim Khán, as governor and then returned to Kábul, taking Diwán Nand Rám Tikkú with himself and appointing Diwán Har Dáss Tikkú and P. Sahaj Rám Dar as assistants of his brother in Kashmir.

After one year Mahárája Ranjit Singh called for his second year's tribute of eight lakhs of rupees from Azim Khán but he refused to pay. Thereupon the Mahárája sent his troops to invade Kashmir. When they came, Azim Khán gave them a battle in which they were routed. By this victory Sirdár Azim Khán got elated. He suspected that the Sikh army had been sent by Mahárája Ranjit Singh at the secret instigation of the Hindus of Kashmir and, to satisfy his feelings of revenge, put Diwán Har Dás Tikkú to death and persecuted other Hindus.

Pandit Dila Mandul held a high post during the governorship of Sirdár Azim Khán. He was once accused by his enemies that he had uttered *tabarrah* or blasphemy against the Muhammadan religion. On hearing about it the Sirdár got enraged and ordered that he must be hanged. While being put on the scaffold by the executioners, Pandit Dila Mandul, at the approach of death, muttered a *Mantra*. It so happened that the rope, tied round his neck, got loose and the victim tumbled down on the ground unhurt. The Pathán ruler attributed this to the efficacy of the *Mantra* and, being frightened that some calamity might befall him if he killed this pious man, set him free.

P. Birbal Dar, Mirza Pandit Dar and Sukha Rám Safáya were then collectors of land revenue of different

districts of Kashmir. Owing to failure of crops one lakh of rupees remained as outstanding against the *Zamindars* of P. Birbal Dar's district. Sirdár Azim Khán deputed 100 soldiers to recover the arrears from the Pandit. Two or three days after, the Sirdár enquired from Mirza Pandit Dar, who was P. Birbal Dar's paternal uncle, if P. Birbal Dar had an intention of escaping. Mirza Pandit Dar replied in the negative, and said he would stand as surety for him. The Sirdár then took a bond from him that, in case P. Birbal Dar escaped, he would pay one lakh of rupees which was outstanding against him. In the evening Mirza Pandit Dar called his nephew and informed him of his having executed a bond to the Sirdár for his not escaping and told him that, if he had actually made up his mind to escape and deliver the country of the iron yoke of the Muhammadans, which had weighed so long upon them, by going to, and inducing, Mahárája Ranjit Singh to take Kashmir, he might hasten to go the same night. P. Birbal Dar then, leaving his wife and daughter-in-law concealed in the house of Qudús Gojawári through P. Wása Kák Harkárabáshi, ran away on horseback to Devasar the same night and thence, taking his son P. Rája Kák Dar with him, crossed the pass and went to Mahárája Ranjit Singh at Lahore. At the present time, when there are smoothly metalled roads to allow motor cars to purr and hum along pleasantly, it is difficult to imagine how much hardship and privation P. Birbal and his son must have suffered in marching over long and rugged hilly tracts and then over the plains. When Azim Khán came to know of the escape of P. Birbal Dar he called Mirza Pandit and the following dialogue took place between them :

Sirdár—*Birbal kujá rafi.* "Where has Birbal gone."

Mirza Pandit—*Hargáh au rá hawas-i-dunyá na munda báshad ba Gangá khwáhad rafi warnah peshi Ranjit rafia Singhán bar tu árad.* "Should he care no more for the

world he will go to the Ganges; otherwise he will go to Ranjit and bring Sikhs against you."

Sirdár—*Pas chi saláh.* "What to do then."

Mirza Pandit—*Kushtani Mirzá Pandit.* "Putting Mirza Pandit to death."

Sirdár—*Bákayái-i-Birbal.* "What about the outstandings against Birbal ?"

Mirza Pandit—*Ba páyi Mirza Pandit.* "To be put against the name of Mirza Pandit."

The Sirdár was pleased with this bold and manly reply and did no harm to Mirza Pandit. He then pressed Wáskak Harkárabáshi to find out P. Birbal Dar's wife and daughter-in-law, recovering a recurring fine of one thousand rupees per day from him till nine days when P. Telak Chand Munshi, who was son-in-law of P. Birbal Dar, got clue of the above two ladies from his wife and informed the Sirdár of it. The Sirdár summoned them to Shergarhi. Pandit Birbal Dar's wife committed suicide by taking poison while being carried in a boat to the Shergarhi in order to save herself from being dishonoured, but the other lady was seized and sent to Kábul. Wáskák Harkárbáshi was slain by the Sirdár for his failure to produce these ladies.

Sirdár Azim Khán went to assist his brother, Fateh Muhammad Khán, at Qandahár after ruling here for six years. He had sent ahead of himself his *haram* together with movable property worth two crores of rupees to Kábul in charge of his Peshkár P. Sahaj Rám Dar. He left the sovereignty of Kashmir in charge of his younger brother, Jubbár Khán. He took Suraj Rám Tikkú, son of Diwán Nand Rám, with himself but put him to death at Ganal. Suraj Rám Tikkú had been asked that his life would not be

taken if he embraced Islám but he abused Sirdár Azim Khán for telling him so. P. Sahaj Rám Dar returned to Kashmir after the *haram* reached Kábul.

Jabbár Khán was once told by some one that it was a common notion among the Pandits that snow falls invariably at the *Shiva Rátri* night (13th of the dark fortnight of Phágan). To test this, he ordered that the Pandits be not allowed to observe this festival in Phágan (February—March) but in Hár (June—July). Accordingly, it had to be observed on the corresponding night in the latter month. It so happened that even on this night flakes of snow, preceded by a heavy rainfall which had rendered the atmosphere very cold, fell. The bard then, mocking at him, sang—

Wuchhton yih Jabbár, jandah,
Háras tih karun wandah.

"Look at Jabbár, the wretch,
Even Har he turned into winter."

In the meantime that pioneer of undaunted perseverance, P. Birbal Dar, was inducing Mahárája Ranjit Singh to take Kashmir, and the people in Kashmir had their wistful eyes turned towards the Sikhs that they might come and liberate them from the tyrannies of the Afgháns. *Deva yiyih Sikha ráj tarit kyáh*—(Would, that the rule of the Sikhs would cross over to us)—was then the popular lullaby of the mother to set her child to sleep. When it became known that Sirdár Azim Khán had left Kashmir, P. Birbal Dar undertook the responsibility of paying any amount of loss incurred to the Mahárája if his troops failed in the invasion of Kashmir, keeping his son, P. Rája Kák Dar, as a hostage for the security of the performance of his engagement. The Mahárája then sent over 30,000 troops in charge of P. Birbal Dar to invade Kashmir. The troops were commanded by Rájá Gulab Singh, Diwán Misr Chand, Sirdár Hari Singh, Jwálá

Singh Padánia, Hukum Singh and others. Sirdár Jubbár Khán arrayed his army against the Sikhs. A fierce battle ensued at the top of the Pir Panjál in which the Afgháns were defeated. Another battle was fought on the plateau of Shopyan and in this Jubbár Khán was wounded and his troops were routed. Jubbár Khán then fled away and Kashmir fell into the hands of the Sikhs. On receipt of the report of victory of his troops in Kashmir, Maharája Ranjit Singh bestowed robes of honour and other favours on P. Rája Kák Dar and sent him in a most dignified manner to Kashmir. The following couplet gives the chronogram of this victory :

Birbal Pandit az sar-e-Kashmir
Kard tá dúr in balái A'zim
Hátfi guft az pae tárikh
Chi bajá kard Singh, fateh A'zim.

"Birbal from the head of Kashmir ;
Removed away this A'zim (huge) calamity ;
The angel said about the date—
How well the Sikhs accomplished victory over A'zim."

Thus Kashmir, after a long period of 496 years, passed again from the Muhammadans to Hindus.

The first Sikh governor was Diwán Moti Rám in 1819 A.D. and P. Birbal Dar was appointed as his chief adviser.

After one year Maharaja Ranjit Singh invited the *raises* of Kashmir. P. Birbal Dar, Mirza Pandit Dar and P. Sahaj Rám Dar went to attend his Durbár. When they reached Daulátnagar, Mirza Pandit got an attack of cholera to which he succumbed. He was brother of P. Sahaj Rám Dar and the latter felt the bereavement so deeply that he retired from the world and became a recluse. P. Birbal Dar alone went

to Maharájá Ranjit Singh and presented before him the accounts of the revenue collected. The Mahárája was pleased with him and granted him a *Khilat* and sent him to Kashmir with high honour on an elephant, placing a necklace of pearls round his neck. When P. Birbal Dar returned, P. Rám Dar, son of P. Sahaj Rám Dar, went forth to receive him at the Králapora Village. But P. Birbal Dar had got too much elated and paid no regard towards P. Rám Dar. The latter had certain villages in his charge as *Mustájiri* and these were taken away from him by P. Birbal Dar. Thereupon P. Rám Dar came and told Sirdár Hari Singh, who was then the governor of Kashmir, that P. Birbal Dar had become very proud and did not care even for him. In course of time, enmity developed between the governor and P. Birbal Dar. The former falsely reported to Mahárája Ranjit Singh that P. Birbal Dar was intriguing with the Rájas of Muzaffarábád and other hilly tracts to rebel against the Sikhs. Thereupon P. Birbal Dar was dismissed from his post. P. Ganesh Dar, brother of P. Rám Dar, now became the Peshkár of Kashmir. He went at the head of troops to Skardu and subjugated the Rája there. He also succeeded in exploring the mines of jade and crystal at Astore. Consequently, Mahárája Ranjit Singh was pleased with him and granted him the village of Sir as *Jágir*. Afterwards, when he went to Lahore and presented the accounts of revenue realized during the three previous years to Mahárája Ranjit Singh, he was granted two other villages, Rámuh and Kachhipura, as *Jágir*.

During the Dogra rule commencing from 1846 A.D., the Kashmiri Pandits filled high posts with great credit ; P. Rája Kák Dar was the officer-in-charge of Dág Shawl, P. Mahánand Ju Dar, P. Kawal Bhán, P. Narán Bhán, P. Krishen Bhán, P. Deva Kák Munshi, and P. Tára Chand Mattu held the post of Accountant-General ; P. Telak Chand Munshi was the Officer-in-charge of Treasuries ; P. Lachman Dar was Conservator of Forests ; Rája Suraj Koul was Revenue Member of the State Council; R. B. P. Rádha

Kishen Koul was the Judicial Minister ; P. Zana Kák Dar was Deputy Governor ; P. Shiv Kák Dar was the Wazir-i-Wazarat of Kishtwár who discovered the mines of sapphire at Pádar ; Diwáns Badri Náth and Janki Prashád, and Pandits Manmohan Náth Koul and Manmohan Lál held the post of Governor of Kashmir ; P. Rám Ju Dar was *Diwán-i-Mál* ; P. Vidh Lál Dar and Rájah Sir Daya Kishen Koul were Private Secretaries to His Highness Mahárája Pratap Singh ; P. Wása Kák Dar, P. Rám Ju Mattu and P. Prakásh Ju Zitshu were *Wazir-i-Wazárats* ; P. Suraj Rám Mattu was Treasury Officer and P. Madho Lál Dar was Sub-Judge ; Pandits Sahaj Trisil, Sukh Safáya, Telak Nádir, Nána Koul Arzbeg, Rish Tikku, Satrám Dar, Bálak Tikku, Kailás Munshi, Prasád Zitshu, Bishembar Nath Zitshu, Gana Koul, Nila Koul Jáláli, Sahaj Bhán, Náth Zitshu, Mahtáb Trisil, Dama Ganju, Suraj Tikku and many others held responsible posts. All of them did well by the country as well as by the State.

Eminent men among Kashmiri Pandits outside Kashmir.

If the names of great men in Kashmir are not at present on the lips of humanity it is only from lack of opportunity and not from lack of endowment or intrinsic virtue of character. From time to time many plucky and adventurous souls, with a vision, broke home ties in Kashmir while tyrannies had become rampant here and started out on the long journey out of it to British India. There they got the opportunity and the result was that they cut great figures in every branch of service. The Chhatarpath Rája of Darpan in Orissa is a Kashmiri Pandit. Rája Dina Náth was the Diwan of Mahárája Ranjit Singh and about him Sir Lepel Griffin says in his book "*Ranjit Singh*" (Rulers of India Series)—

"Among the men who rose to power during the latter days of the Mahárája's life, no one was more remarkable than Rája Dina Náth. He has been well and happily styled the Talleyrand of the Punjab, and his life and character bear a strong resemblance to those of the European statemen. Revolutions in which his friends and patrons perished passed him by ; dynasties rose and fell, but never involved him in their ruin : in the midst of bloodshed and assassination his life was never endangered : while confiscation and judicial robbery were the rule of the State, his wealth and power continually increased. His sagacity and far-sightedness were such, that when, to other eyes, the political sky was clear, he could perceive the signs of a coming storm....."

"It was only in 1834 that Rája Dina Náth was made Finance Minister, for which his qualifications were exceedingly high, but the Mahárája had for many years reposed great confidence in him, and he was on all occasions of importance one of his most trusted advisers."

Diwán Gangá Rám was another Diwan of Mahárája Ranjit Singh. The first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court was the Hon'ble Pandit Shambu Nath, the first Indian Judge of the Punjab Chief Court was the Hon'ble Pandit Rám Narain Dar, the first Indian Commissioner was Rája Narendra Náth, the first Indian Member of the Legislative Council of the Government of India was the Hon'ble Pandit Bishember Náth, the first Indian Member of the Legislative Council in the United Provinces was the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Náth Kunzru, the first Indian Examiner of Accounts was R.B. Pandit Prem Náth, the first Indian Railway District Traffic Superintendent was Pandit Bisheshwar Náth, and the first Indian Political Agent was Pandit Sarúp Naráyan Hákár. Rai Bahadur Diwán Rám Náth Madan was the first Indian appointed as District Judge in the Punjab ; and the first Indan Income Tax Commissioner of United Provinces is Rai Bahadur Hari Har Nath Mattu. The Law Member of the

Viceregal Council was the Hon'ble Dr. Sir Tej Bhádur Sapru. Pandit Jagat Naráyan Malla was a Minister of the United Provinces Government. Pandit Hirdai Náth Kunzru is a Member of the Legislative Council, United Provinces Government, Pandit Hari Kishen Koul is the Commissioner of Jullandhar, Pandit Moti Lál Nehru, a very successful lawyer of Allahabad, is a Member of the Legislative Assembly ; R.B. Pandit Sheo Naráyan is an eminent member of the Bar in the Punjab ; and Rája Shám Sunder Náth Koul is a big Talukdar in the United Provinces. Pandit Sarup Naráyan Háksar, Pandit Moti Lal Kathju, Pandit Madan Lal Mota and Pandit Ram Chand were eminent Educationists. In our community the first Bar-at-Law was Pandit Bishen Naráin Dár.

There is hardly any Indian State where a Kashmiri Pandit has not been at one time or other Prime Minister. Pandit Sadá Sukh was the Revenue Commissioner of Hyderabad. At present Rájah Sir Dayá Kishen Koul is the Chief Minister of Patiala, Sir Sukhdev Prashád Kák is the Prime Minster of Jodhpur, Colonel Kaiás Naráyan Háksar is the Finance Member of Gwalior and Pandit Piáre Kishen Wátal is the Eoreign and Political Minister of Bikanir. Pandit Tribhavan Náth Sopori is the Judicial Minister of Udaipur, and Pandit Amar Náth Attal is the Revenue Minister of Jaipur. Panit Jey Nath Attal is the Diwan of the Jaipur State. Pandit Mahárái Naráin Shivapuri is the Diwán of Dattia State ; Diwán Moti Lál Attal is the Diwán of Jaipur ; and Pandit Dharam Naráin Háksar is the Diwán of Indore. Pandit Kailas Narain Háksar is the Private Secretary to His Highness the Mahárája of Gwalior ; Diwán Bahádur Pandit Ráj Kishen Koul is Prime Minister of the Sailána State ; and Rai Bahadur Pandit Brij Mohan Náth Zitshu is Prime Minister of the Ratlam State.

Diwán Gyán Náth Madan is assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States ; Rai Bahadur Pandit Shám Náth Hakhu was Chief Engineer, Indore State ; Pandit Prenduman Kishen Koul stood first in the I.C.S. examination and is now A.C. at Gujranwala; Dr. S.S. Nehru, I.C.S., is Joint Magistrate at Almora, United Provinces; Pandit Shám Sunder Dar, I.C.S., is in the Civil Service in United Provinces; Rai Bahadur Dr. Bal Kishen Koul is an eminent doctor in the Punjab ; Pandit Gangá Rám Koul is the Accountant-General of the Punjab ; Rai Bahádur Pandit Prem Náth Thussu was the Examiner of Accounts, Punjab. Pandit Brij Lal Nehru is Deputy Accountant-General, Bombay ; Pandit Jiwan Lál Koul Kimma is one of the Deputy Accountant-Generals in India ; and Rai Sahib Pandit Sham Kishen Koul is the head of Accounts of Bengal-Nagpur Railway in Calcutta. Pandit Hira Lal Atal, having stood first in the Royal Military College, Dehra Dun, has been sent for receiving training at the Sandhurst Military College, England. Major Piari Lal Atal, I.M.S., served in the Great War. Pandit Gangá Pershád Taimnee is a Taluqdar. Diwan Rám Náth Madan was District Judge, Punjab. Pandit Jaggan Náth Kunzroo is a *rais* of Agra. Pandit Iqbal Naráin Gurtu is the Education Secretary, United Provinces Government ; Pandit Tej Narain Malla is a District and Sessions Judge in United Provinces. Pandit Kailas Pershad Kichlu is a Deputy Director of Public Instruction in United Provinces. Pandit Rattan Narain Ganju is Sheriff of Court at Delhi.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Ancient and modern ascetics in Kashmir

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
1.	Siddha Sri Kantha	Spiritual teacher of Lalleshvari.
2.	Lalleshvari	Lived about the latter half of Fourteenth Century of Christian era. She was absorbed in long periods of introspection and propounded the Yoga philosophy, gave the ethical teachings with a wonderful wealth of illustrations and aphorisms of the briefest and most pregnant description in Kashmiri Verse called "Lal Vákhi" or "Wise Sayings of Lal Ded."
3.	Rúpa Bhaváni	Was born in 1620 A D., and died in 1720 A.D.
4.	Jaman Ded	Lived about 150 years ago. She was often found roaming about in the mountains near the Amar Náth cave.
5.	Rishi Pir	Lived in the time of Jehangir.
6.	Zenána Zui	Resided at Rainawári (Srinagar), was contemporary of Rishi Pir. Lived about 1570 A.D.

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
7.	Krishna Pandit Taplu	Resided at Bhori Kadal (Srinagar). He discovered the shrine of Khir Bhawáni which had become unknown during the Muhammadan rule. His descendents practise fortune-telling by looking into the Brihat-Kathá.
8.	Bhásker Rázdán	Grand-father of Manas Rázdán. Wrote a commentary on 60 sayings of Lalleshvari in Sanskrit Verse. Lived about 200 years ago.
9.	Krishna Kár	Resided at Rainawári (Srinagar) ; was contemporary of Rishi Pir.
10.	Manas Rázdán	Resided at Bána Mohalla. He practised austerities at Qiladar, Punjab, which has since become the Mecca of the Kashmiri Pandits.
11.	Sodi Woni	Had *darshan* of Shiva at Shishram Nag.
12.	Jiwan Sáhib	Lived about the middle of Eighteenth Century of Christian era. Resided at Rainawári.
13.	Zana Sáhib	Was the Guru of Chana Sáhib.
14.	Mirza Kák	Lived at Hángalgund—a village above Achhahal, about 100 years ago. His sayings in Kashmiri verse are current among the people.
15.	Nidhán Sáhib	Lived at the village of Moran (Avantipura Tehsil). Died in Sambat 1925.

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
16.	Chana Sáhib	Lived at Raináwári. Died in Sambat 1928.
17.	Gopál Sáhib	Lived in a hut under a Chenar tree at Barbar Sháh.
18.	Isher Sáhib	Died in 1880, having lived to an old age. Lived at Haba Kadal.
19.	Govind Baju	Lived at Rainawári.
20.	Manas Matu	Died in 1878 A.D., having lived to an old age.
21.	Anand Ji	Died at an advanced age at Jama Nagar, a village near Shopyan in 1917 A.D.
22.	Lál Sháh	Died at Rainawári in 1918 A.D., at an advanced age.
23.	Labi Sháh	Lived at the Tulmula village during the governorship of Colonel Miyán Singh.
24.	Ganesh Dás	Lived at Gush, a village in Uttar Machipura.
25.	Thákar Prashád Choudhri *alias* Báwá Presidh Náth	This ascetic's *áshram* is at Etawah and at present Báwá Braham Náth is the Mahant of his *áshram*.

APPENDIX II

Rituals and Ceremonies

1. Kahánethar—This is the purificatory ceremony after confinement. It is performed on the eleventh day after delivery when the mother leaves the confinement room. A *havan* is performed and the child is given a name. Prior to this, bath is given to both mother and child on or after the sixth day of the delivery and it is called *Shrán Sundar*. After the bath lighted pieces of birch bark are passed round the head of the child and of all the persons present. This is done by the midwife who, while doing so, repeats—*Shokh tah punahsund* (happiness and more children to you.)

2. Zara-Kásai—This is the hair-cutting ceremony performed when the boy is about 4 or 5 years old. A *havan* is performed and the boy's head is shaved, leaving the *choti* at the highest point of the scull. After the *havan* the relations and friends are treated to a feast.

3. Yajñopavita—This ceremony is generally performed before the boy attains the age of 12 years. The sacred thread is put round the boy's neck by the *guru* and he thence becomes a twice-born Brahmin. He begs alms for his *guru* from his relations present and they give him from 4 anna piece to ten rupees each. All this money (which may amount to say Rs. 700 in a big man's son's case and Rs. 20 in a poor man's son's case) he gives to his *guru*. A few days prior to this, the *gar-náyai* (house cleaning), *manzárai* (dyeing the

boy's hands with *hena*) and *divagon* (bath and anointment) ceremonies are performed. Male relatives and friends being invited give a rupee each as a present to the father of the boy, and both male and female relations some cash present to the boy. They are treated to feasts in which no flesh meat is used. The females sing songs every day beginning from the *gar-návaí* night. Next day after the *Jag* the *Kushal-hom* is performed. Then the invited guests return to their homes—married girls are given a rupee each as *atagat*, their husbands a present of a few rupees each, and young children of the guests one or two rupees each.

4. Víváh—This ceremony begins like the *Yajñopavíta* ceremony with *gara-návaí* or house cleaning and then, in like manner, *henábandí* and *divagon* are performed. On the wedding day the bridegroom is dressed with gold-laced garments and over them is worn a bright coloured robe, and his turban is adorned with a bunch of herons' feathers. A procession is formed in the compound where the bridegroom stands on *Vyúg* (a place decorated with lime and colour). Then the eldest lady of the house comes and turns lighted lamps and a couple of pigeons round his head and the relations sing songs all the while and shower coins and sugar over him. Then he starts, riding on a horse preceded by other horses and palanquin to the *ghat* and thence the party starts in a procession of boats to the bride's parents' house. If the wedding party has to go to a village not approachable by boat, horses and vehicles are used. There the *Vyúg* is kept ready for the bridegroom to stand upon. The bride is brought and made on stand to his left side on the *Vyug*, and the ceremony of turning lamps and pigeons round the heads of the couple is performed by the eldest lady of the house. A feast is given to the bridegroom and the party. The *lagan* or the nuptial ceremony is performed by the priests of the bridegroom assisted by other priests. After reciting various

incantations the couple is given food which they partake in one and the same plate. Then they are made to walk together hand in hand on seven coins of silver round the fire lighted on the occasion. Then the priests are given cash presents. In the end the parents of the bride offer them flowers with many blessings in Sanskrit poetry which the Brahmins recite in one chorus.

After the *lagan* is over the bridegroom with his bride and party returns to his own house. Before starting he and the bride are made to stand again on the *Vyúg* and the ceremony attached to it is repeated. The bride is then placed in the palanquin and the bridegroom rides his horse and the procession returns to the bridegroom's house. There again the V*yúg* ceremony is performed and after that the couple enter their home, the ladies singing songs all the while.

5.Zuji—This is the ceremony of conjugal union. In the case of grown up couple it is performed on the occasion of the wedding, but in that of the couple being young it is deferred till they attain the age of puberty. On this occasion the head-dress of the girl is changed, thenceforth the cap being replaced by *kalposh*, *zuji*, *taranga* and *putsi* and she binds a girdle round her waist. Also her hair, instead of being braided elaborately in a web, is thenceforth plaited in tress tied with a tassel hanging down the back.

APPENDIX III

List of festivals observed

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
1.	Shiv Rátri or Herat	13th day of dark fortnight of Phágan,	This festival commences from the 1st day of dark fortnight of Phágan. From the 5th to 9th day house cleaning is done by leeping and washing. On the 10th day money according to *tet* scale is sent to the daughters in their husband's houses. On the 11th fried fish and bread are sent to the daughters. On the 13th day the head of the family keeps fast and performs the *puja* of Shiva at night. The 14th day is the feast day. The elders are given small presents

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
			of sugar or fruits by the younger and cooked rice and meat are sent to the daughters. On the 15th day or the 1st day of the succeeding fortnight walnuts consecrated at the *puja* are distributed among relations and friends.
2.	Tila Ashtami	8th day of bright fortnight of Phágan.	
3.	Chetar Choudas	14th day of dark fortnight of Chet.	
4.	Sont	1st Chet (Sankrát)	A basket of unhusked rice, with a bread, a rupee, a pen-case, a cup of curds, a few walnuts, a crumb of cooked rice and some flowers, are kept overnight and seen the first thing in the

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
			morning by the inmates of the house just on opening their eyes from sleep. Each picks up one or two walnuts which are dropped in the river after bathing.
5	Naurah Mavas	15th day of dark fortnight of Chet.	A fair is held at Vichár Nág, a northern suburb of Srinagar.
6.	Naw Warih	1st day of bright fortnight of Chet.	The custom of unhusked rice, etc., being seen in the morning as on the *sonr* is observed. The sons-in-law are invited and given a feast. On their return to their houses they are given money presents.
7.	Baisákhi	1st Baisákh (Sankrát)	A fair is held at Gupta Gangá near the Nishát Bágh.

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
8.	Durgá Ashtami	8th day of bright fortnight of Chet.	A fair is held at Khir Bhawáni (Tula Mulah).
9.	Rám Nawami	9th day of bright fortnight of Chet.	A fair is held at Hari Parbat, and at Raghu Nath Temple.
10.	Yág Rám Nawami	10th do. do.	...
11.	Shri Panchami	5th day of dark fortnight of Baisákh.	This day is sacred to the Goddess Saraswati (Minerva).
12.	Shráddha of Rishi Pir	6th do. do.	A fair is held at the shrine of Rishi Pir at Batayár.
13.	Vetál Shashti	6th do. do.	A fair is held at the different shrines of Vetáls in Srinagar.
14.	Munda Dashmi	10th do. do.	A fair is held at the mound near the Dal Darwáza.
15.	Achhen Trai	3rd day of bright fortnight of Baisákh.	A fair is held at Kother, a village in Tehsil Anantnag.

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
16.	Ganesh Choudas	14th do. do.	A fair is held at the Ganesh Ghat in Srinagar.
17.	Jeth Ashtami	8th day of bright fortnight of Jeth.	A fair is held at Khir Bhawáni.
18.	Nirjalá Ikádashi	11th do. do.	A fair is held at Dud Gangá.
19.	Hára Saptami	7th day of bright fortnight of Hár.	Circles with lime and colours are made on the floor in the house in resemblance of the sun.
20.	Hára Ashtami	8th day of bright fortnight of Hár.	A fair is held at Khir Bhawáni.
21.	Hára Nawami	9th do. do.	A fair is held at Hari Parbat.
22.	Mela Jvála Bhagawati	14th day of bright fortnight of Hár.	A fair is held at Khrew.
23.	Biyás Puja	15th do. do.	...

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
24.	Rakhri	Full-moon-day of Sáwan.	Shiva *puja* is done in every house by the head of the family and a fair is held at Amar Náth, Mahádeva, Harsheshwara and Shankráchárya.
25.	Chandan Shashti	6th day of dark fortnight of Bhádun.	A fast is kept by women which is broken at the time the moon rises.
26.	Janam Ashtami (Birthday of Sri Krishna)	8th do. do.	A fast is kept which is broken at the time the moon rises by taking only fruits.
27.	Vináyaka Chaturthi	4th day of bright fortnight of Bhádun.	A fair is held at all the shrines of Ganesh.
28.	Gangá Ashtami or Rádha Ashtami	8th do. do.	A fair is held at Harmukata Ganga where ashes of those who have died during the past twelve months are

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
			carried and thrown into the lake there after performing the *Shráddha*. Another fair is held at Ganga Jatan (Pratápsinghpora) where a bath is taken by the pilgrims in the water oozing out from a precipice there. In leap years the fairs are not held at Harmukata Ganga and Ganga Jatan, but at Shárda and then it is called Shárada Ashtami.
29.	Pan	Any auspicious day during the bright fortnight of Bhádun.	Bread are prepared and distributed among the relations and friends.
30.	Indar Báh	12th day of bright fortnight of Bhádun.	A fair is held at Kanimáji near Báramulla.
31.	Vitha Truváh	13th do. do.	Birthday of river Jhelum.

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
32.	Anant Choudas	14th do. do.	A new armlet of gold or thread is worn—by a male on his right arm and by a female in her left ear.
33.	Kanyágat or Kámbari Pachh	Dark fortnight of Assuj.	This fortnight is entirely devoted to the *Shráddha* or offerings to the manes of the *pitris*. It is a series of offerings and feasts in honour of the dead. The day (Tithi) on which one dies is represented in this fortnight by one corresponding to it for the performance of his or her Shráddha.
34.	Nava-Rátra	1st day of bright fortnight of Assuj.	...
35.	Durgá Ashtami	8th day of bright fortnight of Assuj and of Chet.	A fair is held at Khir Bhawáni.

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
36.	Maha Nawami	9th do.	do. A fair is held at Hari Parbat.
37.	Dasehra or Vizai Dashmi	10th day of bright fortnight of Assuj	This day is celebrated with great pomp. The weapons and instruments of war are hallowed and then a campaign is opened. Three immense figures, stuffed with gunpowder, are made to represent Rávana, Kumbakarna and Meghanáda and these are placed at the proper time in the centre of a large open space without the city. To represent Ráma, Sita and Lakhshman, three little boys are splendidly dressed and carried in a palanquin to the same place. Crowds of people gather there

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
			and the Maharája sends all the troops with the guns, etc. At a given signal one of the little boys, who is supposed to be Ráma, steps forth from the palanquin attended by the two other little boys and fires a small arrow at the big figure representing Rávana, while the other boys discharge their arrows against the other two figures. Of course at this moment the three monsters, Rávana, Kumbakarna and Meghanáda explode with a tremendous noise and then the guns rattle and the cannon roar and the people shout and eventually retire.

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
38.	Deváli	15th day of dark fortnight of Katak.	Oil lamps are lighted in the evening in honour of Goddess Lakhshmi.
39.	Annakúta	1st day of bright fortnight of Katak.	Rice is distributed among the poor and the officials are given sweetmeats by the State after *puja* is performed at the Basant Bágh.
40.	Gopál Ashtami	8th day of bright fortnight of Katak.	...
41.	Birthday of Káli	8th day of dark fortnight of Poh	A fair is held at Káli's shrine above Zaina Kadal.
42.	Khetsri Mávas	15th do. do.	In the evening *Khichri* is cooked and a plateful is kept outside the house in the compound for God Kuvera.
43.	Shishira Sankránti	1st of Magh (Sankrát).	Kángris with live charcoals and also rice, ghee and salt and cash are given to the priests in the name of the dead.

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
44.	Gauri Tritiyá	3rd day of bright fortnight of Magh.	This day is celebrated in honour of the Goddess Saraswati. The priest writes hymns of the Goddess on elaborately illumined paper which he gives to youngsters. He is given presents of money in return.
45.	Shruka Tsoram	4th do. do.	On this day the priest writes down a *Shloka* in Sanskrit which he gives to the young boys with his benedictions.
46.	Bhishma Ashtami	8th do. do.	A fast is kept in honour of Bhishma Pitámaha, this day being the anniversary of his death.
47.	Bhimsen Ekádashi.	11th day of bright fortnight of Magh	A fast is kept this day. (*See* Mahabharata Shanti Parba.)
48.	Shiva Chaturdashi	14th do. do.	A fast is kept this day and Shiva's *puja* is performed.

No.	*Name of festival*	*Date on which observed*	*Remarks*
49.	Somávati	Monday on which Amavasya falls.	It is observed as a fast. People bathe this day in the river at the Somayar Ghat on the right bank of the river just near the 2nd bridge at Srinagar, this spot in the Jhelum being sacred to the moon.

APPENDIX IV

Bhanamasis

Gotras	*Nick Names*
1. Bhava Kápishthala	Khoru, Zádú, Sibbú, Vántú, Chandra, Kallá, Khaibri, Lattú.
2. Bhava Kápishthal Aupamanyava	Wanikhán.
3. Bhuta Vátsya Aupamanyava	Peshin.
4. ,, ,, Laugákshi	
5. Dar Bharadwája	Bángi, Dar, Jawánsher, Misri, Parikala, Qandahári, Thálatsur, Tritsha, Tshut, Turki, Uthu, Vichári, Wáguzári.
6. ,, Várshaganya	Bakhshi, Káchru, Safáyá, Sháli.
7. ,, Wásak Shándilya	Safáyá.
8. Deva Bharadwája	Jatu, Khurdi, Sábani, Yachh, Zaru, Kallú.

Gotras	*Nick Names*
9. Deva Vardhatta Shálan Kaushika	Tsrungu.
10. Deva Várshaganya Shándilya	Safáyá.
11. Dattátreya (Koul)	Aima, Bábu, Bamtsunt, Bámzai, Buju, Chowdhri, Dándar, Dángar, Drábi, Dout, Hák, Jaláli, Jinsi, Jota, Kák, Keni, Kissu, Kothdár, Ladákhi, Mekhzin, Mandal, Moza, Muhtasib, Nagári, Padar, Pahalwán, Ráfiz, Sáhib, Sharghá, Shoga, Singhári, Salmán, Sultán, Tota, Ugra, Zamindár.
12. Kantha Dhaumyana Laugákshi Gautama	Bandár, Breth, Hastiwál, Muhtasib, Káv, Rázdán, Sháh, Sháir, Wángani, Wát, Zari.
13. Páldeva Vásagárgya	Put, Kukru, Khoshú, Káv, Pir, Malla.
14. Pat Svámina Kaushika	Ambárdar, Bira, Bráru, Chácha, Chaghat, Duráni, Fotadár, Ganju, Jála, Káchru, Kalu, Khurdi, Kyani, Mám, Mattu, Misri, Pandit, Panzu, Salmán, Shanglu Sulu, Teng, Tritshal, Unt, Vashnavi, Wufa, Wánchu, Wáza, Zithu.

Gotras	*Nick Names*
15. Pat Svámina Kaushika Deva Rátra Parwara	Pandit, Wátal.
16. Ráj Kaushika	Khod.
17. Svámina Bharadvája	Bázári, Garyáli, Ján, Khar, Miskin, Miyán, Munshi, Tikku.
18. ,, Gautama	Gagar, Táva, Padora, Párimu, Keni, Kák, Rázdán, Fehrist, Tárivála.
19. ,, ,, Laugákshi	Fata.
20. ,, Koshk Bharadwaja	Bhatt, Kukru.
21. ,, Maudgalya	Lála, Kándar, Búni.
22. ,, Laugákshi	Túr.
23. ,, Vasishtha Vatsya Laugákshi	
24. ,, Wás Atreya	Thusu.
25 Shálan Kautsa Sharman Gusha Wátsya Aupamanyava	Tilwán Koul, Mukka.
26. Wasadeva Pálagargya	Bindri.

APPENDIX V

Malmasis

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Atri Bhárgaya	Hapa.
Artha Varshaganya Shándalya	Choudhri.
Bharadwáj	
Bhava Átreya	
Bhava Devalya	
Bhava Kapishthala Kaushika	Patár.
,, ,, Manana	
Bhava Aupamanyava	Variku.
Bhuta Laugákshi Dhaumyáyana Gautama	
,, ,, Gautama	
,, Raja Laugakshi Dhaumyáyana Gautama	
,, Aupamanyava Laugákshi	
,, ,, Shálan Káyana	Giru.
,, ,, Vatsya Laugákshi	Pishen.
,, Was ,, Laugákshi	Peshen, Thakur, Zálpuri

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Dar Bharadwája Paladev	
Vásagargya	
,, Dev Shálan Kapi	Mota.
,, ,, Shalana Kaushika	Muttu.
,, ,, ,, Kuayana	
,, Kapisthala	Lidi, Bhatt.
,, ,, Upamanuva	Mich.
,, Shándalya	Jogi.
,, Sharman Kautsa	
Dipat Sáman Aupamanyava	Sapru.
Dat Dat Shálan Kautsa	Bhatt, Kasab, Khaumush, Malik.
Dhaumyayana	Rázdán.
Datta Kaushika	
Dat Sharman Kantha Káshyapa	Raina.
,, Varshaganya	Sazawul.
,. Was	Khari.
Deva Bharadwája	Bhatt, Gadar, Kallu.
,, ,, Kaushika	Deva.
,, Gargya	Bhán.
,, Gautama	Bhatt, Purbi.
,, Gautama Laugákshi	Hakim.
,, Kaushika	Bhatt.
,, Kantha Kashyapa	Kár.
,, Kucha Átreya	Badgámi,
,, Kashyap Maudgalya Kashyap	Bradi.
,, Laugákshi	Mántapuri, Pandit.

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Deva Parashara	Thogan, Tulsi, Yachh, Kák.
,, Patsvámina Aupamanyava Kaushika	
,, Patsvámina Koshk	Kalpush.
,, Rishi Kaushika	
,, Svámina Gautama Kaushika Maudgalya	
,, Sharmanya Kautsa	
,, Shándalya	Bataphalu, Karawáni.
Dev Svámina Maudgalya	Bradi.
,, Chahanda Shándalya	
,, Aupamanyava	Kalu, Khashu, Meva, Pandit.
,, Vasishta Bharadwája	
,, Wasishta	Shopuri, Hukkú.
,, Vishamitra Varshaganya	Kem, Vangar.
,, Wasishta	Ukhlu.
Ishwar Shándalya Kusha	Nakhási, Rával.
Kautsa Átreya	Bhatt.
Kaushika Bharadwája	Bhatt, Nagári.
Kanth Kasahap	Bhatt, Dassu, Rázdán, Tángan.
Kárchanda Shándale	Chandru, Kár.
Kara Shándalya	Mantu.
Kash Aupamanyava	Bhatt.

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Mitra Atreya	
,, Kaushika	
,, Kashyapa	Handú.
,, Shándalya	Bhatt.
,, Svámina Kaushika Atreya	Said.
Nanda Kaushika Bharadwája	Pandit.
,, Kotsa	
,, Koshk	Bhatt.
(Deva) Parashara	Yechh.
Paladeva Vasgargya	Bangru, Bakaya, Kadalabuju, Khashu, Kichlu, Kokru. Mala, Mám, Mirakhur, Misri, Munga, Pir, Put, Sopuri-Pandit.
Raj Dat Átreya Shálan Kautsa	Bhatt.
,, Bhút Logáskhi Deval	Bhán.
Ratra Bhargava	Zitshoo, Chácha.
Raj Dhattatreya	Partázi.
Ratna Kucha	
Raj Kaushika	Hákachar.
Rishi Kaushika	Káshgari.
Raj Kautsa	
Rishi Kavigargya	Zaru.
Ratna Maudgálya	
Rama Ratra Vishwamitra Agastya	
,, ,, ,, Vasishta	

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Raj Shándalya	Duru.
,, Soma Shándale	
Ratra Varshaganya	Kotar.
Raj Vasisht	Shunglu.
Ratra Vishwamitra Agastya Aupamanyava	
Ratra Vishwamitra Vasishta	Trakari.
,, ,, Agastya	Mattu.
Sharman Atreya	Gaddu.
,, Bharadwaja	Bhatt.
Shándalya ,,	Bhatt.
Sharman Kautsa	Bhatt, Mogal, Sáv, Thela.
,, Kanth Kashyapa	
Shálan Káyana Atreya	
Sharman Kaushika	
, Shándalya	
Shila Shándalya	
Soma Gargya	
Shándalya	
Soma Shándalya	
,, Vatsa Gárgya	
Svámina Atreya	Chaka, Handu, Gadwáli, Kala, Shál, Sikh.
,, Bhargava	Báli, Battiv.
,, Bharadwaja	Khar, Kutsru.
,, ,, Vatsa Átreya	
,, ,, Kaushika Vátsa	
,, ,, Vas Atre	Kalu

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Svámina Bharadwája Kaushika	
,, ,, Shándalya	
,, ,, Kaushika	
,, ,, Dhuni, Kashypa, Gautama, Laugákshi	Diváli.
,, Deva Gárgya	
Svámina Gargya	Machámа.
,, Gautama	Bazáz, Bádám, Charangu, Chillum, Gurut, Kák, Khosa, Kákapuri, Lábru Langer, Manwotu, Naqib, Padora, Piála, Qázi, Rázdán, Thálatsur Thapal, Zari.
,, Gautama Átreya Shálan Kucha	Raina.
,, Gan Kaushika	Padi.
,, Gotam Bharadwája	Kemdar, Kárihalu.
,, ,, Laugákshi	Choku, Chhotu, Turi.
,, ,, Shándalya	Lábru, Rázdán.
,, ,, Kaushika	
,, ,, Shálan Kucha Átreya	Rázdán.
,, ,, Gosh Vas Aupamanyava	Chakan.
,, ,, Átreya	Tsul.
,, ,, Shálan Kucha	
,, Hásya Dváseya	Khanakatu.
,, Kaushika	Thakur, Wátal.

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Svámina Kantha Kashyapa	Lábru.
,, Laugákshi	
,, Maudgalya	Bhuni, Chana, Dewáni, Galikrapa, Kanth, Khazánchi, Mazári, Muj, Madan, Mushrán, Put, Shora Táku, Zahi, Rázdán, Zitu, Zotan.
,, Maudgalya Páráshara	
,, Páráshara	
,, Rishi Kanya Gárgya	Koul (Kulin).
,, ,, ,, Vátsya	
,, Shandalya	Bhatt, Bakhshi, Nári.
,, Aupamanyava	Gigu.
,, Kautsa Átreya	
,, Vasishta	
,, ,, Bharadwája	Bhatt, Handu, Hukhu.
,, Vasa Gulak	
,, Vara Mitra Vatsya Guna Kaushika	
,, Vasa Gargya	Langer, Sum.
,, Vátsya	
,, Vas Átreya	Ghási, Thusu, Wáza.
,, Vatsya Aupamanyava	Bhatt, Wallu.
,, Wárshaganya	Chothái, Duda, Hángal, Káthju, Lange Kásid.
,, Wás	

Gotras	*Nick Names*
Chhanda Shándalya	
Vársháyani	Barbuz, Karnel.
Vishwamitra Agastya	
Vatsya Atreya	
,, Gusha Aupamanyava	Pandit.
Vishnu Bharadwája	
,, Gargya	
,, Shaunaka	
Vasishta Svámina Maudgalya	Bhandári.
Vasa Aupamanyava Laugákshi	
Wasishta	Bhatt, Rangateng.
,, Bharadwája	Bhatt, Hukhu, Handu.
Wata Dhatta Shálana Kucha	
Wardhatta ,, ,,	Muki
Wata Shálana Kucha.	

APPENDIX VI

List of proper names (male)

Aita or Átma
Aftáb
Ajudhya Náth
Amar
Anand
Arjan

Bába
Bálak or Bála
Bál Krishen
Bálmokand
Bháskar
Bhadri Náth
Bhagawán
Bhalbadar or Bhala
Bhaváni Dás
Bishambar
Bisheshwar
Bira
Buda
Bula

Chandar or Chana
Cheda
Chutur
Chentáman

Dámodhar
Dándur
Darshan
Dáta
Daya
Dharam or Dama
Dila
Dina
Diva
Durgá Prashád
Dwárika Náth
Dyál Chand

Eshwar or Ishar

Fateh Chand
Ferah
Gangá Rám

Ganesh or Gana
Girdhári
Gopál
Gopi or Gupa
Govind
Guláb
Gwásh

Haldhar
Hara
Hari
Himat
Hiránand
Hradai Náth

Ikbál Krishen
Ikbál Náth
Inder Krishen

Jagadhar
Jagar Náth
Jagat Naráin
Jiá Lál
Jánaki Náth
Jiwan
Jvála Náth

Kailás
Kalyán
Kantha
Kanwar Naráin
Kasha
Káshi
Kashmir
Kawal
Kesheo
Kripál
Krishen

Laba
Lachhman
Lakhmi Naráin
Lála
Lambodhar
Lasa

Mádho
Madhusudhan or Madur
Mahádev
Mahánand or Mána
Maharáj Bahádur
Mahendar
Maheshwar
Mahtáb
Man Mohan
Mansá Rám
Mohan Lál
Mokand

Nának Chand
Nanda
Naráyan or Nárán or Nána
Nátha
Nidhán
Nilakanth
Niranjan Náth
Nityánand

Omkár Náth

Parmánand
Pitámbar
Prakásh
Prán Náth or Prán Krishen
Prasad
Prem Náth

Prithvi Náth
Pushkar Náth

Rádhá Krishen
Rágho
Raghunáth
Rája
Ráma
Risha
Rupa

Sahaj
Sáhib
Sáligrám
Samsár Chand
Sarúp
Sarvánand
Sat Rám
Sáva
Shakar
Shám Lál
Shám Sundar
Shambu Náth
Shankar
Sheo Naràin
Shiva
Shukadev
Sodám
Sodarshan
Sridhar
Sukh
Suna
Sundar
Suraj or Surja
Surúp

Tába
Tára Chand
Thákur
Tika
Tola
Tota
Trilok or Telak

Vida or Vidyádhhar
Vishen

Wásudev

Zaya
Zanárdhan
Zinda

APPENDIX VII

List of proper names (female)

Amrávati
Arandati
Arni

Baji
Basi
Bhadri
Bhágirati
Bhágiváni
Bhagri
Bhatani
Bhaváni
Búni

Chándo

Dayi or Dayiri
Dedri or Dedi
Dhanavati
Divaki
Divari or Devi
Dugaji
Durgi

Gangji
Gauri
Goramáli
Gunari
Gunavati

Hári
Háramáli
Himáli

Indraáni

Jaikishori
Jamana
Jánaki

Kamalá
Kalashi
Kásho
Katji
Kesari
Khimá
Kirti
Kudi
Kuji
Kukji

Kumári
Kungi

Lachhi or Lachhikuji
Lakshmi
Lilávati

Madari or Madi or Madamati
Maina
Máli
Mani
Mashi
Mátáyi
Miri

Omá

Padmávati or Padmáni
Párvati
Prabhávati
Pushi or Pushakuji

Rádháyi
Rájarini
Ráj Dhulári
Rakhi
Rambhávati
Ránimi
Ratsi
Rázi
Rupi

Sámpti or Sámpakuji
Sangri or Sangi
Saraswati
Sati
Sávidáni
Sávi
Shánti
Shradi
Shárika
Shivi
Shirmáli
Shubi
Shubhávati
Sidh Lakhmi
Sonamáli or Sumáli
Subhadrá
Sukhi
Sunari
Sundari

Tárávati
Tekari or Tekabatani
Tizi
Tulsi

Vibhávati
Vishiri

Wágari
Wanari
Watshari

Yambari or Yamberzali

Zapi
Zatsi
Zayi
Zuni

APPENDIX VIII

List of ancient classics

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
1.	Kashyapa	Drained out water from the Satisar and brought Brahmins to live in the reclaimed land—Kashyapmar or Kashmir.
2.	Patanjali	Author of grammar and of books of medicine and yoga philosophy. His house was at a village called Gonard or Gudar in the Kulgam Tehsil.
3.	Mammatáchárya	Poet and Rhetorician.
4.	Kayyatácharya	Author of Sanskrit grammar. Lived at Kaj Chhaj Kot, a village above Awantipora.
5.	Uwwatáchárya	Author of a commentary on the Vedas.
6.	Vámana	Author of grammar.
7.	Rudrata	Poet.
8.	Vágbhatta	Poet and author of books on medicine.

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
9.	Charaka	Author of book on medicine.
10.	Bamala	Poet.
11.	Vashu Gupta	Lived about the end of 8th Century of Christian era. He was the founder of Shaiva philosophy, having learnt it from Shiva himself in a dream. His labours were carried on by Nos. 12 to 28, 40, 41, 44, 45, 53, and 56.
12.	Náráyana Bhatta	...
13.	Kallata	Pupil of Vasu Gupta. Lived in the latter half of 9th Century of Christian era.
14.	Somananda	Probably a pupil of Vasu Gupta. Lived about the end of 9th Century of Christian era.
15.	Mukta Kana Swamin	Pupil of Naráyan Bhatta.
16.	Shiva Swamin	Authors of books on Shaiva philosophy lived in 815-900 A.D.
17.	Ananda Vardhana	
18.	Pradyumna Bhatta	Pupil of Kallata.
19.	Utpaláchárya	Pupil of Somananda. Lived in 900-950 A.D.

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
20.	Rama Kantha	Pupil of Utpálácharya. Lived in 900-925 A.D.
21	Prájnárjuna	Pupil of Pradyumna Bhatta.
22.	Lakhmana Gupta	Pupil of Utpaláchárya. Lived in 950-1000 A.D.
23.	Mahádeva Bhatta	Pupil of Prájnárjuna.
24.	Abhinava Gupta	Son of Lakhman Gupta. Lived in 993-1015 A.D.
25.	Shri Kantha Bhatta	Son of Mahádev Bhatta.
26.	Kshemarája	Pupil of Abhinava Gupta. Lived about the end of 11th Century of Christian era.
27.	Yogarája	Pupil of Abhinava Gupta and Khemarája.
28.	Bháskara	Pupil of Shri Kantha Bhatta. Lived probably in the 11th Century of Christian era.
29.	Jagaddhara Bhatta	Poet and author of grammar.
30.	Ratnákara	Poet.
31.	Ananda Vardhan	Poet.
32.	Chhachhak Bhatta	Author of grammar.
33.	Rochak or Ruyyaka	Poet.
34.	Udbhatta	Poet

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
35.	Kshemendra	Wrote the Rájatarangini in 1148-49 A D.
36.	Kalhana	...
37.	Zona Rája	Lived in the time of Zain-ul-Abdin (1420-70 A.D.). Wrote the Rájatarangini from the time Kalhana had left it, down to his own time.
38.	Shrivara	Pupil of Zona Rája. Continued the Rájatarangini from 1459 to 1486 A.D.
39.	Prájya Bhatta	Continued the Rájatarangini down to the time of annexation of Kahmir by Akbar, 1586 A.D.
40.	Jayaratha	Author of books on Shaiva philosophy. Lived about 12th Century of Christian era.
41.	Shivopádhyáya	Author of books on Shaiva philosophy. His home was at Haba Kadal (Srinagar). Lived about 1751 A.D.
42.	Sharva Varma	Author of grammar.
43.	Dámodhar Gupta	Poet.
44.	Ratna Kantha	Poet and author of books on Shaiva philosophy.

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
45.	Mankha	Author of dictionary.
46.	Bala Bhatta	Authar of books on Shaiva philosophy.
47.	Somadeva	Author of Brihat Katha which is in the possession of some Brahmins at Bhori Kadal who practise fortune-telling by looking into it.
48.	Muktapid	Lived about 855-883 A.D.
49.	Kanasvamin	
50.	Abhinanda	Poet of the highest order, equal to Kálidása.
51.	Vallabhadeva	Poet.
52.	Narahari	Poet and commentator.

APPENDIX IX

List of modern learned scholars and poets of Kashmir

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
53.	Sáhib Koul	Author of books on Tantric Creed and a dictionary. Lived in 1642 A.D. None of his family has hitherto died of cholera.
54.	Sáhib Rám	Author of Dharam Shastra and grammar.
55.	Gopál Rázdán	Poet.
56.	Lasa Kák	Author of books on Shaiva philosophy and Vedánta
57.	Dámodhar Pandit	Author of works on general literature.
58.	Dayá Rám Ganz	Poet in Persian.
59.	Munshi Bhaváni Dáss	...
60.	Parmánand	Author of Krishna Avatár in Kashmiri verse.

No.	*Name*	*Remarks*
61.	Prakásh Ram	Author of Krishna Avatár in Kashmiri verse.
62.	Krishen Dáss	A living author. Has written Shiva Lagan (Shiva's marriage) in Kashmiri verse.
63.	Naráyan Koul	Wrote History of Kashmir in Persian in 1709 A.D.
64.	Birbal Káchroo	Wrote History of Kashmir in Persian in 1845 A.D.
65.	Pandit Jánki Náth Madan	Translator of Bhagwad Gita in Urdu prose.
66.	Pandit Diná Náth Madan	Translator of Bhagwad Gita in Urdu Verse.
67.	Pandit Rattan Náth Dar	uthor of *Fasánah-i-Azád.*

APPENDIX X

Presents given off and on by the parents to their daughters and sons-in-law

Occasion	*Wárlv (Husband's house)*	*Bada Wárlv (husband's mother's parents' house)*	*Badabada Wárlv (husband's grand-mother's parents' house)*	*Prás (Remission)*
	Bridegroom			
Parmátshun (re-entry of bride-groom into bride's parents' house). This ceremony is performed in the case of adults on the Satrát night and in that of young couple at the Zuji	Self ... Rs. 25	...	...	...
	,, ... ,. 30	...	...	...
	Brothers ,, 20	...	...	...
	Servants ,, 20	...	...	...
	Gomáshta ,, 15	...	...	...
	Teacher ,, 15	...	...	...

Occasion	*Wáriv (Husband's house)*	*Bada Wáriv (husband's mother's parents' house)*	*Badabada Wáriv (husband's grand-mother's parents' house)*	*Prás (Remission)*
(conjugal union).				
	Fruits, dry Rs. 25	...	...	...
	With fruits ,, 25	...	...	...
	Bride			
	Alath ... ,, 10	...	...	8 annas per rupee
	Sweetmeats ,, 10	...	...	4 ,, ,, ,,
	Atagat ... ,, 10	...	...	4 ,, ,, ,,
	Bread ... ,, 4	...	...	...
	Salt ... 1 Trak	...	...	...
	Rice 1 Kh. 9 Trak @ Rs. 4 a Kh. ...	1 Kh. 4 trak	15 traks	Nil
	With rice ... Rs. 25	Rs. 20	Rs. 15	8 annas per rupee
	Cooked rice 1 Kh. 9 Trak. If in cash then at bazar rate.			
	With do do... Rs. 25	...	...	8 ,, ,, ,,

	12 Tech. (*i.e.*, Zokwat, Kái-Jor, Kulach Wáj, Pot, Narma, Iran Wáj, Yonih, Yindar, Kunapáthar, Atach, Atagat, Shándakar) @ Rs. 25 Rs. 300	...	...	...
Satrát ...	... 7 female head-dresses	...	...	Servants 1 anna per rupee
	Clothes	...	...	Porter ... Rs. 10
	Pots	...	...	Milkman...,, 10
	2 Tháls	...	...	Porter ...,, 5
	2 Turus	...	...	Fruit seller ,, 5
	1 Gadva	...	...	Servants with *dalies* ... ,, 25
	1 Gangá Ságar ...	...	...	Tailor ... ,, 50
	2 Tumblers	...	...	Servant with Shándakari 4
	2 Cups ... With pots Re. 1 per pot ...Rs. 10	...	...	...

Occasion	*Wárlv (Husband's house)*	*Bada Wárlv (husband's mother's parents' house)*	*Badabada Wátrv (husband's grand-mother's parents' house)*	*Prás (Remission)*
	Shándakari			
	1 Cap	...	...	...
	1 Shawl	...	...	...
	2 Pherans	...	...	...
	With Pherans Rs. 25	...	...	...
	Dolls	...	...	...
	With dolls ... ,, 25	...	...	...
	Salt 1 Kh. 9 Trak			
	With salt ... Rs. 25	...	...	8 annas per rupee.
	Kanivol ... ,, 25	...	...	Rs. 25
	Servant of Kanivol Rs. 7	...	...	,, 7
	Foster father and foster mother ... Rs. 25	...	...	,, 25

Shiva Rátri ...	Tet ...	Rs. 25 ,, 30	Rs. 20 ,, 20	Rs. 15 ,, 15	4 annas per rupee 4 ,, ,, ,,
	Bread and fish	,, 25	,, 20	,, 15	8 ,, ,, ,,
	With rice	,, 25	,, 20	,, 15	8 ,, ,, ,,
	Rice unboiled	,, 5	,, 2-8	,, 1-4	...
	With rice unboiled	25	,, 20	,, 15	8 annas per rupee
	Rice boiled 25 Traks or price at current bazar rate		...	...	...
	Prepun	25 Traks	...	...	...
	Meat	12 ,,	...	...	...
	For spices...	Rs. 10	...	...	...
Shisher Sankrát	Tet	... 25	Rs. 20	Rs. 15	4 annas per rupee
Veth Truyudashi	,,	... 25	,, 20	,, 15	and for servants 1
Áshára Saftami	,,	... 25	,, 20	,, 15	anna per rupee.
Shri Panchmi	,,	... 25	,, 20	,, 15	
Nov ...	...	...	...	...	...
Wángan Nov	...	...	...	...	...

The above are *khám* or annas 8 British coin.

There are 7 classes of *tet*, *viz.*, 25, 20, 15, 12, 10, 7 and 5, and it depends on the social position and financial circumstances of the father of the bride to choose any one of them.

The *tet* above given is first class. The 7th class *tet* will be Rs. 5+5 for Wáriv, Rs. 3+3 for Bada Wáriv and Rs. 1+1 for Badabada Wáriv. A 6th class *tet* will be Rs. 7+7, Rs. 5+5 and Rs. 3+3 respectively.

The bride is given bridal dress and ornaments by her parents. There is no fixed limit to this, but a bride having first class *tet* will not be given more than 150 tolas of gold. This amount goes down in the case of a bride of 7th class *tet* to 5 tolas.

On the Shisher Sankrát the foster-father and foster-mother are given warm clothes by the parents of the bridegroom.

Each time the bride, having 1st class *tet*, goes to her parents' house *khabar* consisting of—

Cash	Rs. 25 (full amount of *tet*)
Sugar	,, 4
Bread	,, 2

is received. Prás is returned as below :—

Cash	Rs. 12-8
Sugar	,, 2
Servant with *khabar*	Re. 1
,, of Kanivol	,, 1
Foster-father and foster-mother	Rs. 2-8
Bread and sugar	,, 1-0
Bread	,, 0-8

Each time the bridegroom's parents send their servant for the bride to come he is given Rs. 2 after deducting *prás.*

On the occasions of marriages in the daughter's father-in-law's house or in his relation's houses, *Khándarbog* of Rs. 25 is sent of which half is returned as *prás.* In the same manner *Wadau* is sent by the girl's parents whenever there is any occasion for offering congratulations, such as child-birth, etc.

Rot khabar is sent on Saturday or Tuesday following the wedding day. It consists of big cakes together with the amount of *tet* of which *prás* is given as for other *khabars.* This *khabar* is sent only once.

Kulcha khabar is sent once after the wedding when it is convenient to the parents of the girl. It consists of a load of *kulchas* and the amount of *tet* in cash. *Prás* is given as is usual for other *khabars.*

For 4 or 5 years after the marriage the son-in-law is invited in the girl's parents' house on the occasion of cooking new rice and brinjals for the first time in the year and given a feast. The amount of *tet* and some pots of cooked rice and meat are sent to the son-in-law's house. *Prás* is given as usual. The son-in-law is given cash of the amount of *tet* and some money to his brothers and servants who have accompanied him.

Each new year's day the son-in-law is invited and given a feast. On his returning home he is given a cash present and some money to his brothers and servants accompanying him.

When the daughter is pregnant, she is given new clothes by her parents and as many *traks* of curds as the number of *tet* and also cash of the amount of *tet.*

On the occasion of the delivery sugar and ginger are sent by her parents to her father-in-law's house.

On the occasions of the grand-son's *mundan*, sacred thread and marriage ceremonies, *durt bhatta* is taken by the daughter's parents to her house. It consists of new clothes to her, her son, her husband and other near relations and also cash of the amount of *tet*.

On the death of the daughter's father-in-law or mother-in-law, new clothes are provided by her parents to her husband on the 10th day of the occurrence of death.

Pandit Anand Koul flourished between the later half of the 19th Century and the beginning quarter of the 20th Century. He was a pioneer of modern research on the history and folklore of Kashmir. His publications on the history of Kashmiries are enough to perpatuate his memory to the posterity. His other works include *Jammu and Kashmir State*, *Archaeoiogical Remains in Kashmir* and *Lalla Yogeshwari*. Alongwith Dr. Grierson, Dr. Barnett and Sir Richard Temple, Pandit Anand Koul was an important Kashmiri intellectual who helped them in collecting and publishing the sayings of Lalleshwari and her yogic attainments which besides explaining the Saiva philosophy of Kashmir, bring forth the synthesis of cultures for which Kashmir has always stood. Pandit Anand Kaul held a very important position as president of the Srinagar Municipality besides being a socially honoured and important citizen.

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